

IN THESE TIMES

Vol. 1, No. 8

Jan. 12-18, 1977

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

40 Cents

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THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except the last week in July and the fourth week in December by the New Majority Publishing Co. Inc.

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News Services
Africa News Service, Congressional Quarterly News Service, Editorial Research Reports, Gemini News Service, Internews, Liberation News Service, Pacific News Service, Peoples Translation Service, Reuter, Zodiac News Service.

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All letters received by *In These Times* become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form.

Printed at the Merrill Co., Hinsdale, IL, a Graphic Arts International Union (AFL-CIO) shop.



Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at Chicago, Illinois.

This edition published Jan. 12, 1977, for newsstand sales Jan 12-18.

NEWSFRONT

An icy blast of Antarctic air

Black reps challenge Carter

When Jimmy Carter officially takes office, he will be in the position of offering revisions to a budget for the fiscal year beginning October 1977 that his predecessor Gerald Ford will submit before leaving office. Given the new budgetary timetables, he will have only a short time to submit revisions to congressional committees.

Washington analysts are arguing that the tight timetable will combine with Carter's caution and conservatism to prevent him from introducing any major legislation during 1977. This includes national health insurance, welfare reform, and a comprehensive jobs bill.

But this week liberal congressmen were already beginning to put pressure on Carter. In a press conference, John Conyers (D-Mich.), Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.) and Parren Mitchell (D-Md.) of the Congressional Black Caucus called upon Carter to support a \$30 billion jobs program.

"Insufficient, fragmented, and quickie programs to overcome the so-called pause and accelerate slightly the rate of economic growth would misjudge the economic and social problems accumulating for at least a quarter century," the congressmen said in a statement.

But Carter said on Jan. 6 that he plans to set a ceiling of \$15 billion on his economic stimulus package.

More Trilaterals appointed

President-elect Jimmy Carter this week chose Lucy Benson, former president of the League of Women Voters, as his Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance. While the press was citing Benson as another woman appointee, her membership in the Trilateral Commission went unmentioned.

Other Trilateral members added to the Carter cabinet this week were Warren M. Christopher as Deputy Secretary of State, C. Fred Bergsten as Assistant Treasury Secretary for International Affairs, and Richard Cooper as Under Secretary for Economic Affairs.

Labor leaders oppose Sorensen

AFL-CIO leadership opposed the appointment of Theodore Sorensen to head the CIA. "It is fair to say we weren't happy about it," the *New York Times* reports Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer as having responded in answer

to a question about Sorensen's appointment.

Their reasons for opposing Sorensen are said to center on Sorensen's alleged support for Edward Sadlowski, who is challenging Lloyd McBride for the presidency of the United Steelworkers of America.

Let's not have another cup of coffee

An icy blast of Antarctic air in July 1975 and torrential summer rains are being blamed for the precipitous drop in the supply of Brazilian and Colombian coffee beans and the equally precipitous rise in wholesale prices, which has been having its effect on retail coffee prices. Maxwell House coffee, which sold for \$1.29 a pound in July 1975 now costs \$259 at Chicago stores. In the next six months, the price is expected to go as high as \$4 a pound.

In New York City consumer affairs commissioner Elinor Gugginheimer is organizing a coffee boycott. Daitch Shopwell, an 85-store supermarket chain, has cooperated by offering customers 20 cents off if they forego coffee for tea, cocoa or hot chocolate. Reuters reports the coffee boycott spreading to Australia, Canada, Israel, West Germany, and Austria.

While the shortage is real, Rep. Fred Richmond (D-N.Y.) has suggested that the coffee producing countries have further jacked up prices by raising their export taxes.

Oil spills an accident?

The Senate Commerce Committee has scheduled hearings for this week into the Argo Merchant tanker disaster which caused the worst oil spill off an American coast. "We will definitely have comprehensive oil spill liability legislation in this Congress," one official told Reuters. In the meantime, critics like Noel Mostert, author of *Supership*, are charging that the ship's Liberian registration is at the root of the problem.

Of the five tankers that have been involved in oil spills or explosions in the last three weeks, all fly the Liberian flag. Liberia has the world's largest tanker fleet.

Most Liberian ships are owned, however, by Americans who register their ships with Liberia in order to avoid paying American corporate taxes and union wages and adhering to American safety standards. As a result, critics charge, Liberian ships can be sailed until their equipment breaks down, and they can use poorly-trained crews.

Fraser succeeds at UAW

With even more predictability than an auto assembly line, the process of selecting a new president of the United Auto Workers began last week. Potential rivals among the union's vice presidents withdrew in favor of front-runner Douglas Fraser, 60, a vice president in charge of skilled trades and Chrysler workers.

Left-leaning union officials have long praised Fraser as a man popular with the rank and file, although he took some flack during the fall auto negotiations from a minority opposition and from dissident skilled workers. He may be a shade more liberal than outgoing president Leonard Woodcock. Fraser backed Morris Udall in the Michigan presidential primary, while Woodcock had been a strong Carter supporter.

Nobody predicts substantial changes in the union's political and collective bargaining policies under his leadership, however.

Australian ecology setback

Last week Australian Conservative party prime minister Malcolm Fraser gave the go-ahead to uranium mining companies in Queensland to begin fulfilling contracts with the West German nuclear power industry. Since 1972, a coalition of conservation groups and left-wing trade unions had forced the government to hold up mining until further study of the uses of uranium was conducted. The unions had meanwhile refused to ship it.

But the December 1975 defeat of the Labor government spelled doom for the anti-uranium protestors. Fraser was finally able to divide the labor movement over the issue and to get Bob Hawke, president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, to lift the union-imposed ban on shipping uranium prior to the signing of future contracts in exchange for a promise of full public debate.

But in spite of an attempt to keep its journey secret, the first train carrying uranium from Mary Kathleen to the port of Brisbane was interrupted twice along the way by protestors who stood on the tracks until police removed them.

Thai guerilla war intensifies

The Thai guerilla movement, led by the Communist party of Thailand, is stepping up its action against the right-wing military government that seized power on Oct. 6. In November guerillas are reported by Reuters to have killed 54 government soldiers, more than in any previous month.

On Dec. 22, the guerillas shot down the helicopter of the deputy governor of Surat Thani province and killed nine other soldiers. In Northern Thailand Christmas day, they killed 22 government soldiers.

The guerilla movement has about 10,000 members and is well armed. Their greatest need is recruits. But by ruling out the possibility of democracy, the October coup polarized Thai society and created a new base of support for the guerillas.

Reuters estimates that over 600 students left to join the guerillas after the coup. The rector of one provincial university reported that 100 students had seized three buses, and ordered their drivers to take them to a guerilla stronghold.

The guerilla strategy is to gain a foothold in the countryside before attacking the cities. *Internews* reports that in North-east Thailand guerillas control one-third of the provinces.

Following the coup, the guerillas can expect increased support from the Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians as well as from the Soviet Union. But the Chinese who had formerly been the guerillas' staunchest supporters have reportedly established close ties with the anti-Soviet Thai junta.

African nations meet

This weekend, African frontline nations will be meeting at Lusaka, Zambia, to assess the results of British diplomat Ivor Richard's attempts at shuttle diplomacy in southern Africa. At their last meeting the five nations—Tanzania, Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, and Botswana—affirmed their support for armed struggle as the only means to majority rule.

While Richard has found his talks with black African leaders constructive, he cannot say the same for his talks with Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith. Smith, the *New York Times* reports, is opposed to British intervention and to any settlement that opens the way for black majority rule.

Smith's intransigence, combined with growing Nigerian aid to the guerillas, will likely lead to an intensification of the armed struggle.

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Puerto Rican oil greases Ford gambit?

Unilateral call for statehood rejected by all Puerto Rican parties.

By Ronnie Lovler

San Juan, Puerto Rico. The overwhelming reaction here to President Ford's bombshell announcement that he would ask the 95th Congress to make Puerto Rico the 51st state of the union has been one of resounding rejection—even among those persons who favor statehood for Puerto Rico.

Although their degrees of disapproval varied, advocates of the three status alternatives— independence, statehood or continuation of the present commonwealth arrangement—agreed that Ford's seemingly unilateral move was a serious breach of political ethics.

The general feeling here among the populace of three million has always been that any proposal to alter Puerto Rico's status would be initiated on the island. Ford's move was made without any prior petition from the people of Puerto Rico or, indeed, apparently without consulting local leaders.

Speculation about Ford's motives centered on the expected discovery of offshore oil, which Ford wants to ensure will be under federal jurisdiction.

►New statehood party governor ignores Ford plan.

The President's statement appeared to have taken by surprise even lifelong statehood supporter Gov. Carlos Romero Barcelo, who took office on Jan. 2, two days after Ford announced his intentions.

Romero, whose New Progressive party (NPP) swept control of the House, Senate and a majority of the island's mayoralties in the November elections campaigned on a strong "status is not an issue" plank.

He focused instead in a populist manner on the numerous social and economic problems that had plagued the administration of former Gov. Rafael Hernandez Colon, whose Popular Democratic party (PDP) believes in commonwealth.

Immediately following his election, Romero repeated his campaign pledge, saying he would make no direct moves toward statehood during the next four years. When Ford made his proposal, Romero was politically compelled to downplay it in order to maintain his credibility. By ignoring the Ford announcement in his inaugural address, Romero was able to publicly reaffirm his electoral promise. Making no mention of the statehood proposal, Romero said he would work "to combat the injustice that goes by the name of poverty and which has been—and continues to be—our most profound concern."

Statehood would increase P.R. services and taxes

Under its present Commonwealth status, Puerto Rico's legal relationship to the U.S. government and its programs is vague. Many social services do not function at all in Puerto Rico and others are administered on a much smaller scale. The amount of money that can go to Puerto Rico under the Aid for Dependent children program, for instance, is limited by law so that the average Puerto Rican family of five on the AFDC program receives only \$45 in payments. Social security payments to the aged, blind and disabled are less than a quarter of what they are in the U.S. Minimum wages are lower and even then only honored after a long struggle on a factory by factory basis.

The food stamp program was extended to Puerto Rico in 1974 and today half the population receives food stamps. The former Resident Commissioner (Puerto Rico's nonvoting rep-

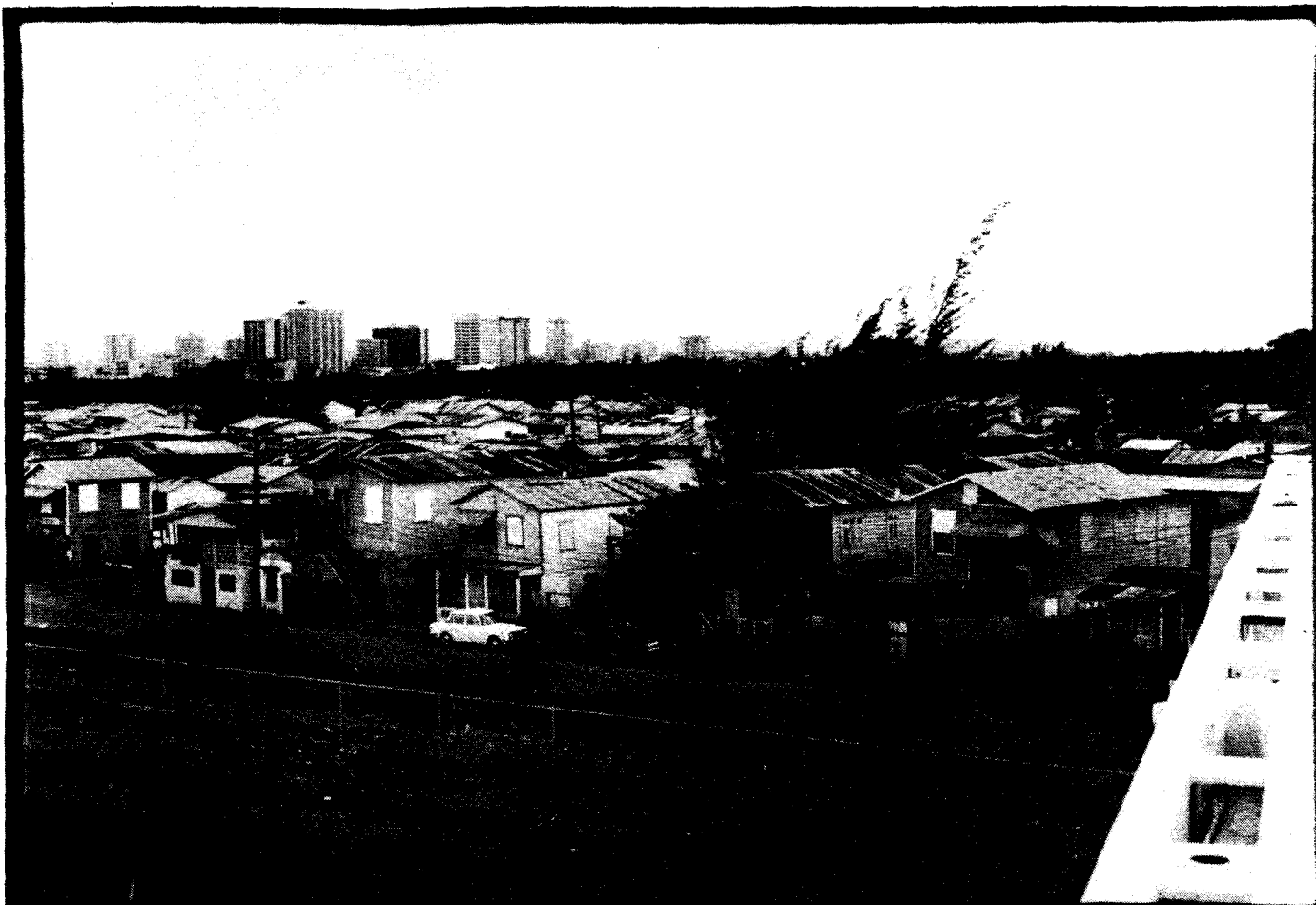


Photo by LNS

New high-rises dominate a skyline where 60 percent of the people live below poverty and 35 percent are unemployed.

In his only direct response to Ford's statement, Romero walked a cautious tightrope, neither endorsing nor criticizing the President. He thanked Ford for his interest "in defending our right to equality of citizenship," adding that "this contradicts allegations made so frequently in the past that the U.S. would not grant statehood to Puerto Rico even if Puerto Rico were to request it democratically after a plebiscite."

Privately, however, aides to Romero said Ford's statement came "at an extremely inopportune moment and could set the cause of statehood back years."

►Prior consultation suspected.

Resident Commissioner Baltasar Corrada del Rio, who represents the Commonwealth in Congress, lambasted Ford "for going overboard and recommending statehood for Puerto Rico."

"Statehood is an initiative that only the people of Puerto Rico should take and not Congress or the President," he added.

Corrada del Rio, who is Puerto Rico's only delegate to Congress—with voice but no vote—said he would back no statehood measure that was not based on a previous island mandate through a plebiscite.

Despite the protest and shows of surprise by the NPP leadership, supporters of commonwealth and independence believe the statehood group was aware of the impending Ford announcement. Rep. Rony Jarabo, a PDP legislator, said he found it hard to believe that Ford "would have made the proposal without consulting anyone here. It contradicts all pending policy."

The acting secretary general of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) Pedro Baiges Chapel, maintained the Romero group had "prior knowledge" of Ford's intentions, and in fact had instigated the proposal.

"They used their good offices with Ford at a time when he was leaving office to bring to the public's attention the question of statehood," Baiges Chapel said. "They did things that way because they were conscious if they made any direct moves here they would lose credibility."

►Oil reserves a motive for Ford's action.

The PSP, which seeks to establish an independent socialist republic similar to that of Cuba here, also believes Ford took his action to secure U.S. control over already located mineral deposits and the oil believed to exist off the Puerto Rican coast.

Baiges Chapel said Ford's action was an effort to make "a final assault on our natural resources. In this sense we believe the fact that copper, manganese and Nickel deposits have been discovered and the high probability that large oil reserves exist off the north and southeast coast are factors that motivated Ford to propose the total absorption of our country."

Former Gov. Hernandez Colon also indicated his suspicion that the Ford proposal was tied in with the petroleum deposits.

In negotiations with the U.S. Interior department for jurisdiction over possible deposits, the Commonwealth has been insisting the 200 mile international law of the sea prevails, which means that Puerto Rico could tax any oil revenues, while the Interior department wants to impose a three-mile limit.

"The point is crucial," Hernandez Colon said, "because all studies made thus far indicate that if oil is found it will be somewhere between two and one-half to 10 miles out to sea."

Ford's open support for statehood is in direct contradiction with what the Hernandez Colon administration had been trying to get him to do on the status question.

The PDP had lobbied strongly in Con-

gress during the last two years in favor of passage of "A New Compact of Permanent Union" which would have given the island greater autonomy.

Ford's announcement effectively killed the PDP hopes for "improvement" of the 25-year-old commonwealth status. Hernandez Colon said Ford's proposal "goes against the politics and international commitments of the U.S. that recognize the right to self-determination of the Puerto Ricans." The people of Puerto Rico have not ceded and will not cede that right to Pres. Ford or anyone.

Baiges Chapel said, however, that the Ford move would help PSP efforts at the United Nations to have Puerto Rico openly declared a colony. "Ford is unmasking the real intentions the U.S. has with respect to Puerto Rico. Assimilation, statehood is not the acceptable form [of dealing with colonial countries] according to existing international law," he said.

►Election did not endorse statehood.

Despite its electoral victory, the NPP did not receive a majority vote, garnering only a 48 percent plurality of the 1.4 million votes cast. Because of their slim margin of victory over the PDP—only three percentage points—the NPP says its showing at the polls should not be interpreted as a mandate for statehood.

"The election results were not an endorsement of statehood because it was not an issue in the campaign for us," said House Speaker Angel Viera Martinez. "The only ones who made status an issue was the PDP."

While the PDP emphasized the status question, urging people to "vote for commonwealth," the NPP instead waged a successful populist campaign concentrating on their plans to fight against poverty.

With 60 percent of the island population living below the official U.S. poverty level and 71 percent of the population on food stamps, the NPP had plenty of grist for their mill. During Hernandez Colon's tenure in office, the official unemployment rate soared to 21 percent with labor observers placing the real figure at closer to 35 percent.

The much-touted "Operation Bootstrap" program, which brought U.S. industry to the island en masse two decades ago, was coming to a halt despite government subsidies to industry as the 15 to 25 year tax exemptions granted earlier ran out.

Although many of the economic problems were caused by the worldwide recession,

Continued on page 14.

New conflict of interest rules: a step

By Dan Marschall
National Staff Writer

President-elect Carter's guidelines on conflict of interest in the executive branch issued last week in preparation for an Executive Order on the issue, are generally a "first step in the right direction," representatives of consumer and public interest groups say.

The guidelines will not end what Carter has called the "sweetheart arrangement" between regulatory agencies and the regulated industries, however. Federal officials often go from regulatory positions to jobs for companies seeking favors from those agencies. This practice creates real and potential conflict of interest, recent reports have concluded.

"Obviously a lot more work needs to be done," says Ann McBride of Common Cause. "We believe the guidelines indicate Carter's real commitment to moving forward on this issue."

John Gardner of Common Cause also heralded the guidelines as a "major breakthrough in the fight to eliminate conflict of interest in the executive branch."

Carter's new guidelines address the disclosure of financial holdings and the post employment practices of federal appointees. They require that some 2,000 officials publicly disclose their financial net worth and divest themselves of any holding that may be affected by official acts. They also prohibit federal appointees—for two years after leaving office—from representing a private party before their former agency on a matter that was under their jurisdiction. This provision extends an existing Executive Order ban on this activity for one year.

Another rule introduces a new concept that Common Cause believes is "extremely strict." For one year, officials are banned from formal or informal contact with their former agency on any matter.

The need for reform has been documented in recent congressional and Common Cause studies on the post-employment practices of regulatory officials. In October, a Common Cause report found that 48 percent of the federal commissioners who left from 1971-75 went to work for regulated industries or their law firms.

"There have been cases where agency officials have gotten lucrative positions for not being tough with companies they're supposed to be watching over," says Reuben Robertson, litigation director of the Aviation Consumer Action Project. "They're cashing in on their years of government service because they know where the skeletons are and how to manipulate and agency."

Robertson goes further than the Carter guidelines and proposes that top staff and agency officials should be prohibited from working for the industries they regulated for at least two years after leaving office. Common Cause offered a similar proposal in its report and still hopes it will be implemented in congressional legislation.

Bob Brammer of the Campaign to Stop the B-1 Bomber also expressed some doubt about whether the new guidelines will actually make much difference: "The Carter standards are good in spirit," he said, "but they are not tough enough to work. For instance, they would prohibit people from actually representing a private firm on matters they handled while in the Pentagon, but there's nothing to prevent them from telling their new business partners who to go to and what to say. The standards won't end the current cozy relationship between the Pentagon and the giant defense contractors."



Will Serrano decision make learning opportunities available equally to all?

Photo by Jane Melnick

Calif. decision hits property tax

By Linda Hunt

The California Supreme Court on Dec. 30, for the second time in five years, declared unconstitutional the state's method of financing public education through local property taxes.

In a 4-3 decision, the court ruled that since elementary and secondary student expenditures are directly tied to the wealth of the school district, the current financing system discriminates against students living in poorer communities, violating state equal protection guarantees.

The ruling was the result of a class action lawsuit filed in 1968 by the Western Center of Law and Poverty on behalf of John Serrano, Jr., then seven years old.

Young Serrano's school test scores indicated that he was academically exceptional—nearly gifted. The school's principal told his father to "get out of East L.A. if you want your kids to get a decent education." The family moved from the predominantly Chicano community to nearby Whittier.

The elder Serrano, now Chief of Social Services for the Los Angeles Regional Center for the Developmentally Disabled had the option of taking his three youngsters out of East Los Angeles. But for most other children from poor and working class families throughout the state the problems of unequal education are not so easily resolved. So Serrano and his son went to court seeking a remedy.

In 1969 Baldwin Park, the community from which the Serranos moved, levied its school taxes at a rate of \$5.48 per \$100 of assessed property value, spending only a total of \$577.49 a year to educate each student. In that same year Beverly Hills residents paid only \$2.38 per \$100 of assessed valuation, but spent a whopping \$1,231.72 per pupil. The poor community with the lower tax base paid proportionately more, but got less. Similar disparities exist throughout the entire state—indeed, the nation.

► Poor districts cannot tax into excellence.

In its first ruling on the *Serrano* case in 1971 the court declared, "So long as the assessed valuation within a district's boundaries is a major determinant of how much it can spend for its schools, only a

district with a large tax base will be truly able to decide how much it really cares about education. The poor district cannot freely choose to tax itself into an excellence which its tax rolls cannot provide."

The court ordered the state legislature to come up with a method of relieving financial disparities between school districts. The Sacramento legislators put a floor on school expenditure by providing subsidies, but they left it to local districts to determine their own ceiling, depending on the districts tax base and the "willingness" of residents to supplement

The Serrano decision goes beyond the schoolhouse door. It may herald on onslaught of challenges to government services financed through local property taxes.

school expenditures. Poorer, already heavily taxed areas, however, could not afford to spend more, no matter how much they yearned for a quality education for their kids.

On Dec. 30 the high court again found the inequalities—not remedied by state legislation—a violation of the California Constitution's equal protection clause. It ordered the state legislature to find new methods of school financing by 1980.

► Politically explosive, legally limited.

Although of potentially great political importance, the legal impact of the *Serrano* decision may be limited. In 1973 the U.S. Supreme Court, in a case challenging the Texas school financing system, said that disparities in wealth in various school districts did not violate the U.S. Constitution and that it was a matter for each state to consider. State courts have varied in their rulings, although none has taken as clear a position against the unequal use of the property tax system as California and several have ruled that there is no discrimination involved in such a system.

The *Serrano* decision goes beyond the schoolhouse door. The court's decision may herald an onslaught of challenges to government services financed through local property taxes.

The decision has unleashed a two-headed tiger in the legislative chambers—an angry mass of homeowners demanding tax relief on one side, and big business shaking a formidable fist on the other.

Assemblyman Leroy F. Greene, chair of the Assembly Education Committee, said he questioned whether the legislature could meet the court's 1980 deadline.

"We will make a try, but the political problems are horrendous," he said.

► Tax increase or decrease in quality.

Other legislators have admitted that any new system of taxation for school financing will require a tax increase. No one has gone beyond vague generalities, but estimates put the state's additional tax costs at nearly \$1 billion.

While migraine groans still reverberated off the walls of the legislative office building, California's Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. announced that he would unveil his own school financing scheme. He promised "significant" property tax relief for homeowners while not increasing state taxes. But he'll be doing it with mirrors, said one astute Sacramento-watcher.

Faced with its constituents, its campaign financiers, and a governor with a "tighten yer belt" philosophy, it's fair to say that the state legislature in California is not likely to tamper with the basic tax structure. It will not levy higher corporate taxes, nor will it redistribute the personal wealth of California's residents. With its options limited by the system it serves, the legislature is left with compromising public education by a "downward leveling," while imposing, say, an addition to the already regressive sales tax. Other possibilities offered by trial court Judge Bernard S. Jefferson include full state funding with a statewide property tax.

"By and large the people we have sitting in Sacramento don't have the guts it takes to change the tax structure so that every person is paying their fair share," replied John Serrano when asked about the court's decision.

"A lot of people and corporations don't even pay taxes," he said. "I'm talking about oil companies, insurance companies, banks. They're getting a free ride."

Linda Hunt works for the ACLU of Southern California.

Attica inmates pardoned, but books not closed

By Judy MacLean
National Affairs Staff

On Dec. 30, New York's governor Carey pardoned seven former inmates of Attica who had been convicted of crimes during the 1971 prison uprising and commuted the sentence of an eighth, Dacajeweah (John Hill). He said if he did not do so, "the law itself might well fall into disrespect" due to the way the case had been handled.

In his statement, Carey said he was acting to "firmly and finally close the book" on Attica. After five years of investigations, he concluded, law enforcement officials had covered up the events of Attica so thoroughly that justice was not possible.

On Sept. 13, 1971, thousands of National Guard and state troopers stormed Attica prison, which was being held by inmates protesting conditions there. Thirty-two prisoners and nine guards were killed during the assault.

The United States Second Circuit court reported that injured prisoners were then beaten with belts, sticks and bats, forced to strip and run naked through a gauntlet of guards armed with clubs, burned and threatened with death.

The state of New York then proceeded to spend over \$5 million indicting and prosecuting 61 prisoners; but because the state was unable to build a substantial case, most of the accused were never convicted.

►No action against guards or state troopers.

"We're pleased with anything that lets Dacajeweah out of jail," said Liz Fink, a lawyer from the Attica defense team, "but he should have gotten amnesty. To commute his sentence says he's guilty."

Akil Al-Jundi, a former Attica inmate who was indicted as a result of the uprising, agreed. "We're elated, but then we aren't elated, also," he said. "He should not have been indicted from the beginning. The people who were indicted were not the persons guilty of crimes."

Carey's action also foreclosed criminal prosecution of any prison guards or state troopers. Two independent investigations by the state of New York showed the state failed to properly plan the assault, to preserve evidence or to investigate the matter impartially.

Akil Al-Jundi, who is today minister for education of Attica Now, a group that has worked on the defense of the indicted

inmates, pointed out that the seven who were pardoned were already free due to appeals and other court actions. He said Carey's trading one commuted sentence for not prosecuting 20 guards "is so people won't beef."

►Balou Asahi vs. Rockefeller.

Al-Jundi doesn't agree with Carey that the book on Attica can be closed. He pointed out that one accused former inmate, Balou Asahi (Mariano Gonzales), was not covered in Carey's pardon because he is a fugitive.

Al-Jundi is also chief plaintiff in a \$2 million civil suit against former Gov. Rockefeller and the state of New York brought on behalf of inmates who were maimed in the assault and relatives of dead inmates.

A group of survivors of guards is also suing the state of New York.

"The other reason we can't say the book is closed is that the problems that existed in New York state prisons in 1971 exist today in 1977," said Al-Jundi. "The basic changes demanded by the inmates in '71 have not been made. It's still slave labor, even if you get 75¢ a day instead of 25¢, you still have to work five days a week and you're lucky at the end of the month if you have \$10. Prisoners are still released with only \$40. Furloughs are still discriminatory. What happened in Attica could happen today anywhere in New York's prisons. It was a response to conditions that remain the same."

►A guard blames attorneys and politicians.

Al-Jundi says the deaths at Attica may have chilled inmate unrest and that guards also don't ever want to see another Attica. "They learned the state thinks correctional officers are dispensable, too."

Former guard Michael Smith, a hostage when the inmates took over, is today on medical retirement from the prison system. "It's too bad so many people lost their lives and it didn't make any substantial difference in the prison system," he says. Smith would like to see better prison conditions, "not color TV—material things like that only scratch the surface—but better programs for really helping the inmates."

"It's too bad," said Smith, "that the only ones who benefited were politicians and attorneys. Politicians used Attica to get elected and attorneys benefited financially." ■

20,000 seeking jobs on Carter's team

Jimmy Carter's offer to all Americans to come work in his administration has been taken seriously by some 20,000 people. "I think they'll have to bring over a trailer-truck on Jan. 20th and pick up the resumes and dump them into the Potomac," said a senior transition official last week. "This whole thing is ridiculous."

It all started with an emotional Carter campaign appeal and since then, his so-called Talent Inventory Program has been swamped. There are now 18 full-time professional staffers ripping through mounds of envelopes every day, helped by some 40 secretaries and volunteers.

The resumes are reduced to short forms and computerized. But already most job seekers are getting form letters back from TIP with the bad news.

"Many of the applicants are not now eligible for a presidential appointment," press officer Rick Neustadt said with a measure of understatement, "so we refer them to the various [cabinet] departments. A 20, 21 year old, just out of college, writing us for a job isn't likely to get one."

What the program's advice amounts to in most cases is for the applicant to take the civil service exam—in other words, get in line with everybody else.

There are only about 2,200 jobs open to presidential fiat. Those among the 20,000 applicants who have administra-

tive or subject area skills are broken down into lists for eventual presentation to the White House personnel office, which will take over TIP's function on Jan. 20.

"It's not a charade, not a gimmick," press aide Anne Edwards said of the project. "The resumes are taken very seriously and are being read by well qualified people." But the senior transition official, a savvy political operator in Democratic circles for years, said that applicants without heavy sponsors were unlikely to be taken seriously. In other words, she said, the pattern of job placement follows past administration procedures.

"There's really no point to pay a lot of attention to [resumes from] people you've never heard of," the official said, "because we've already heard of too many people who are sponsored. That's what makes this whole program so silly."

Until Jan. 20th, however, workers in the tightly guarded downtown office will be ploughing through the letters, some 300 a day so far, around the clock and through the weekends.

"If we ever have the time, we do skim the unsponsored ones," the official sighed, "but all resumes look the same. They've all been published and have lots of degrees."

—Jeffrey Stein



Sen. Howard Baker, new Minority Leader, was Mr. Clean in Watergate hearings.

Byrd and Baker to lead Senate parties

Conservative West Virginia Democrat Robert Byrd was elected without opposition Jan. 4 to probably the most influential position in the U.S. Senate—Majority Leader.

The same day Watergate figure Sen. Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) was elected Minority Leader in a surprise one-vote victory over Sen. Robert Griffin (R-Mich.), widely assumed to be a shoo-in. Baker's supporters, who lobbied heavily for him with colleagues, said the Republicans needed a symbolic change, with new faces in leadership roles.

A challenge to Byrd from Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) failed to materialize at the last minute when it was judged hopeless. The ailing Humphrey, it was feared, might be more vocal than methodical as Majority Leader and lacked crucial AFL-CIO support, which he had expected to get.

Both of the new Senate chiefs come from the conservative wings of their parties. Byrd was so in tune with Nixon's economic, law-and-order, and Vietnam policies that the Republican National Committee gave no funds to his opponent one year.

Domestically, Byrd has never quite lived down his Ku Klux Klan membership during the 1940s. Though since repudiating his association with the Klan, he has not been an ally in civil rights issues. He once called Martin Luther King a "self-serving rascal" and voted no on Thurgood Marshall's appointment to the Supreme Court. (Marshall is the only black Justice.)

As head of the District of Columbia Committee, Byrd became notorious for his insistence on enforcing the "Man-in-the-House" rule for welfare recipients, prompting *Washington Star* columnist Milton Viorst to observe that "Byrd has made his reputation as an authority on the

"Byrd was so in tune with Nixon's economic, law-and-order and Vietnam policies that the Republican National Committee gave no funds to his opponent one year."

mating habits of Washington's underprivileged."

A classic "self-made man" himself, Byrd seems to have a pervasive Horatio Alger philosophy guiding his politics. "Anyone with common sense and drive can get to the top," he told a Ralph Nader-connected researcher.

Mining dominates West Virginia and Byrd has managed a successful balancing act between the companies and the miners. This is not to say he is even-handed, however. The status of mineworker health and safety, for example, is a concern of the past for Byrd. "The problem was too long overlooked," he says, "but improvements have been made. Back in my day's day it was worth writing about."

Sen. Baker, despite his Mr. Clean Watergate role, was a Nixon enthusiast during the war years of Nixon's first term. "I think the President has, the majority of the time," said Baker, "a track record for candor and honesty in his representations with respect to Southeast Asia."

Though Baker's voting record is quite conservative, observers saw no ideological grounds for his victory, since the favored Sen. Griffin's record was quite similar.

—Tim Frasca

The Trilaterals

Like the chain that holds the trinkets on a charm bracelet, the Trilateral Commission binds together the principle appointments of the Carter Administration. In previous issues, we have profiled Blumenthal and Vance; in this issue we look at Brown and Brzezinski, the other two appointees from the Commission. Commentator Alan Wolfe lays bare both the policies being pursued and the challenge they present to us.

Enter Brzezinski

By Joe Stork

President-elect Jimmy Carter's selection of Zbigniew Brzezinski to be National Security Adviser brings to that potentially powerful post a man whose political views and connections make him an appropriate replacement for predecessors like Henry Kissinger and Walt Rostow. Like Kissinger he is a refugee from Europe, was trained at Harvard, and shares close ties to the Rockefeller empire. Like Rostow he comes to the job as an accomplished academic ideologue and professional anti-Communist. His writings over the last decade suggest that he is a particularly appropriate adviser for the administration that may be taking us all the way to 1984.

Brzezinski, a professor of history at Columbia University and director of its Research Institute on Communist Affairs was born in Warsaw, the son of a Polish diplomat who fled to Canada with the onset of World War II. He became an American citizen in 1958.

He made his mark on the '60s as a prolific analyst of political developments in the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc.

In the university teach-ins that grew in protest of American intervention in Indochina, Brzezinski was, according to *Time*, a "persuasive advocate" of the U.S. position. In 1966 LBJ brought him to Washington to direct the State Department's Policy Planning Council. A few months later he was hailed by *Newsweek* as the "kind of hard-nosed intellectual who does not suffer fools gladly" and after only four months on the job was "one of the architects of U.S. foreign policy." *Newsweek* is still infatuated with what it calls "Brzezinski's big-think conceptual brilliance."

►Critical of Kissinger's style.

His recent writings display a critical tone towards Kissinger's policies, but little by way of concrete alternatives. His emphasis is on the need for an alliance of industrial capitalist powers with lip service towards "an active stake in the global system" for "the global *nouveaux riches*" (the oil producers). There is also much polemic against an "erosion of trust," "an accumulation of bitterness," "a growing resentment" of major allies towards Kissinger's style and practice. In its place Brzezinski urges "open debate and shared political responsibility," "real consultations" and "genuine consensus."

Brzezinski has long been angling for a job like this. In the early '70s he broadened his "expertise," publishing an effort at social analysis (*Between Two Ages*, 1970) and a political analysis of Japan (*The Fragile Blossom*, 1972). In 1973 he latched onto Carter as a prospective candidate-client. Since then he has been writing from the stance of a global strategist, and moonlighting as director of the Rockefeller-financed Trilateral Commission, an assemblage of top industrial and finance capitalists, politicians and academics from the U.S., Europe and Japan (including Carter, Mondale, Cyrus Vance and Michael Blumenthal) who lend their names to various pronouncements of the present and future state of the status quo.

►American initiative in Mideast.

Ever sensitive to the needs of the hour, Brzezinski has lately devoted some effort towards developing a full-blown strategy for settling the Arab-Israeli conflict. "Without a settlement of that issue in the near future, any stable arrangement in the energy area is simply not possible." Framed as a critique of Kissinger's "step by step" approach, it more nearly rep-

resents the next stage of Kissinger's strategy and is not quite in harmony with candidate Carter's pro-Israeli pronouncements on the campaign trail.

Brzezinski advocates an "overt American initiative, outlining both the substance of an eventual settlement and the required international framework for it." While he would no doubt refrain from labeling it an "imposed solution," he does say that the "inherently rigid" Israeli political situation is pervaded by "a sense of permanent isolation and defensiveness which make far-sighted statesmanship almost impossible." This is especially true with regard to "the central problem of the Middle East conflict, the relationship between Israel and the Palestinians (which almost certainly means, in practice, the PLO)."

Brzezinski advocates the creation of a de-militarized but PLO-dominated Palestinian state composed of the West Bank and Gaza, with its capital in a united Jerusalem. Israel would be accorded full recognition and its 1967 borders guaranteed by security zones and enforced by the superpowers.

On the level of the world capitalist economy, Brzezinski apprehends certain important dimensions of the current crisis, as when he notes that "modern inflation is deeply rooted in the social fabric of consumption-oriented advanced societies," but of course he fails to attribute the systemic nature of the crisis to the monopoly character of late capitalism.

►Democracy "overloaded."

Rather he plays a theme that is echoed by some of the Trilateral Commission pronouncements: the problem is that "democratic" institutions have been "overloaded" with participants and demands, and "effective countermeasures are hard to adopt because sacrifices are not easy to distribute through the democratic process."

Like Kissinger, he sees the core of the problem resting in the fact that people no longer believe in the system. "The economic crisis...intersects with a deep cultural malaise in the Western world, a malaise that is pregnant with dangerous political consequences."

Brzezinski's own ideas about how to rectify the situation are among the most dangerous of those consequences. In a 1968 article for the *New Republic* entitled "Revolution and Counterrevolution (But Not Necessarily About Columbia)" he opined that the U.S. was undergoing "a profound shift in the prevailing values," which he attributed to the fact that the society is in transition from an industrial to a "technotronic" society "in which technology, especially electronic communications and computers, is prompting basic social changes." With this preface he proceeds to instruct the authorities on how to respond to the wave of unrest then current in the country ("a revolutionary act is likely to be condemned by most, provided it is rapidly suppressed") and assures them that "some of the recent upheavals have been led by people who increasingly will have no role to play in the new technotronic society." Their violence and slogans he writes, are "merely the death rattle of the historical irrelevants."

►Manipulation and control.

Themes of manipulation and control remain fundamental to Brzezinski's prescriptions for the future. To create the requisite "new international system," it must be "the advanced countries which consult closely and undertake the joint initiatives, enlisting on an ad hoc basis those developing and particularly energy-

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

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FOR IN THESE TIMES



producing countries that are capable and willing to become partners in such an architectural endeavor." This cartel-like grouping will be required to coordinate economic and trade policies, taking into account high economic growth rates will no longer be available to mitigate class conflict in the "advanced" societies.

The problem as Brzezinski sees it then becomes one of generating the political will necessary to implement this "significant change in our social and political lifestyle." "Accordingly the challenge that we face today may require some political dramatization.... One useful approach might be for the heads of our advanced democratic governments to hold a joint meeting on the emerging state of social emergency (his emphasis) as the point of departure for the adoption of the needed reforms."

Writing in *Foreign Policy* at the end of 1974, Brzezinski urged "an adminis-

tration of national unity" since "these problems...simply cannot wait for 1976 and the selection of a President through older methods." He proposed that the Vice-President be charged with developing "joint economic-political international machinery, capable of integrating our policies and mobilizing the best brains in the country into a bipartisan effort." In a *New York* article he described this proposal as "a supra-departmental integration of our global policy." policy."

On Jan. 20, Zbigniew Brzezinski, with his "big-think conceptual brilliance," will take over responsibility in the office that most closely resembles his "effective instrument for world planning." Historical irrelevants beware!

Joe Stork is an editor of *MERIP Reports* in Washington, DC, and author of *Middle East Oil and the Energy Crisis* (Monthly Review Press).

Brown already insider—nothing new likely

Defense dept. head is convenient compromise for Carter

By John Markoff

Harold Brown's appointment as Secretary of Defense has lengthened the shadow that the elite Trilateral Commission is casting over the new administration of President-elect Jimmy Carter. Brown is the fifth high-level Carter appointee to be drawn from the ranks of the commission.

Brown's appointment as Secretary of Defense signifies that Jimmy Carter's military policy will differ little from that of his predecessors. Brown is another insider. He already has served in the Pentagon as Director of the Directorate of Defense Research and Engineering (DDR&E) and as Secretary of the Air Force.

Brown represented a convenient compromise for Jimmy Carter. He fell somewhere between hawk James Schlesinger, who is anathema to liberal Democrats, and Washington lawyer Paul Warnke, who was unacceptable to the Pentagon.

Brown was a hawk during the Kennedy era and helped preside over the air war

in Vietnam under Lyndon Johnson. However, he is said to have undergone a "soul-change" after Nixon's election in 1968. Since that time Brown has become an ardent strategic arms controller, albeit one who falls well within establishment limits.

►Commitment to SALT.

Brown's appointment may represent a genuine commitment to reach some kind of SALT II agreement over arms limitations with the Soviet Union. Brown has ties with Dr. Georgii Arbatov, a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party and the leading American expert in the USSR. Arbatov is active as a SALT negotiator from the Russian side. Several weeks ago he called on Carter to revive the stalled negotiations.

Recent press reports have stated that Brown is willing to ban cruise missiles as part of a SALT agreement. The cruise missile, which the U.S. is developing, is a major stumbling block in negotiations.

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The Trilaterals

Alan Wolfe

Carter kills populist hopes early— It's now up to the left to organize



"If, after the inauguration, you find a Cy Vance as secretary of state and Zbigniew Brzezinski as head of national security, then I would say we failed," said Hamilton Jordon, Carter's key aid, last summer.

Rarely has an administration failed, by its own standards, even before assuming office. Carter is not yet President and he has already broken just about every progressive promise he made during the campaign. Populism is out, and the Trilateral Commission is in. The appointments made by Jimmy Carter reflect the greatest domination of the federal government by Wall Street since Herbert Hoover.

"Membership on this commission has provided me with a splendid learning opportunity, and many of the other members have helped me in my study of foreign affairs," Carter wrote in *Why Not the Best?* Clearly he expects to transfer his seminar right into the White House.

Of the 60 original U.S. members of the Trilateral Commission, only six were politicians. But two of them were Carter and Walter Mondale. Other members were Brzezinski and Vance, Michael Blumenthal (Secretary of the Treasury), Richard Cooper (probable Assistant Secretary of State for International Economic Affairs), Harold Brown (Secretary of Defense), Paul Warnke (mentioned for several positions), A.W. Clausen (rumored for Treasury until disqualifying himself), and Peter Peterson (rumored for a variety of positions until disqualifying himself).

Carter has, in a word, appointed a member of the commission to every important post in the government save one—the director of the Office of Management and Budget. And even Thomas Bertram Lance has his connection: his dear friend J.P. Austin of Coca Cola is the member of the commission responsible for bringing Jimmy Carter, as they say, "aboard."

►Only place for Carter to turn.

The point, however, is not to attack the commission, but to understand it. Can we really be surprised that Carter would turn to Wall Street when Kennedy followed exactly the same process at the start of his administration? The real question is why the commission was the only place for Carter to turn, and the answer is that this is one of the few elite organizations around that is making a serious attempt to understand what is happening to the U.S. and what can be done about it.

The commission is a response to the crisis of the '60s. Three extremely important developments took place during that decade, now overshadowed by Watergate. The first is that the U.S. position in the world declined; the second that demands by groups at home for state services reached the breaking point for a capitalist society; and the third is that the economy entered a period of protracted difficulty. Only the Trilateral Commission—certainly not Reagan or the old line New Deal Democrats like Humphrey—have fashioned a response to this triple threat.

In the minds of the commission, the U.S. is no longer capable of ruling the world system by itself. Economically, the advanced capitalist nations, in their analysis, have become more and more intertwined, so that the actions of one affects them all. This alone suggests the need for greater cooperation among them.

But in addition, the pursuit of *realpolitik* objectives on the part of Kissinger has made the U.S. seem overextended and often illegitimate. What we need, the commission suggests, is a flexible strategy that can maximize American power in the face of the limitations upon it. Such a strategy would include a reliance on economic pressure as opposed to military intervention, a greater emphasis on joint foreign policy initiatives with Europe and Japan, and a downplaying of brinkmanship in favor of stable transnational or-

ganization like the European Economic Community.

►Controlling social programs.

Domestically, the commission views the demands of oppressed groups for greater political rewards from the state as counter-productive to a flexible ruling strategy. Above all else, the state should avoid being "locked in" to policies that limit its options. Given that defense related industries seem to have an inexhaustible appetite for public funds, the state budget can only be held under control if social welfare spending is rationalized and streamlined.

This means a reorganization of the government, one of Carter's pet themes, and a reliance on what could be called post-Keynesian economic policy. Ultimately, some members of the commission feel, the demands on the state may have to be curtailed through the adoption of some fairly harsh anti-democratic measures.

Finally, the commission is aware that the economic situation in which the U.S. finds itself is more than just another phase in a business cycle. In contrast to those who proclaim that the economy will shortly reassert itself, commission intellectuals believe that we are in for a relatively systemic decline in the ability of American capitalism to generate ever higher rates of growth. The problem, for them, is to manage economic contradictions, not to ignore them.

Many members of the commission, for example, believe in wage and price controls as a device that may be needed to keep the economy from falling apart. Others call for a system of national planning. In the peculiar language of American politics this makes them "liberals" on economic policy, since they do not favor the free market. But in reality their plans are highly illiberal, for they all involve controls on the working class in order to protect the capitalist system as a whole.

►Our choice is now easier.

Carter has turned to the commission because there is nowhere else to turn. In his campaign he called himself a populist, but also courted the favor of these men. He cannot continue to do both, and one should realize that he has made a fundamental choice. We owe him respect, perhaps, for making his decision so early, for he has made our decision that much easier.

By deciding to go all the way with the Trilateral Commission, Carter has told blacks and working class people who made his election possible what he thinks of them. There is no question that it was these folks and not the bankers who elected Carter and he has responded by rubbing power in their faces. He is not even making an attempt to mystify the power with kind words. After two decades of economic mismanagement, political scandal and increasing illegitimacy, Carter has cast his lot with the mismanagers, corrupters and illegitimizers. His gall is phenomenal, but in truth his only two options were to do what he did or be a real populist, and the latter was never a serious option.

If these were normal times, then Carter, like Kennedy, would have kept the myths alive for two or three years before disillusion set in. Instead—since innocence can normally be lost only once—he has killed them within a couple of months. By doing so he has thrown the ball to us. It is clearer than ever that popular control over corporate power can only come from mass pressure from below. The Trilateral Commission has won state power and will use it for its own ends. It is up to the popular movement, to the left, to organize popular power for its own ends. In his own way, Carter has invited us—almost defiantly demanded us—to do so.

Alan Wolfe lives in Berkeley and writes regularly for *In These Times*.

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Brown will offer no improvement as a military manager, says Pentagon critic Gordon Adams. Adams, research director of the New York-based Council on Economic Priorities, said in a recent interview with *In These Times*, "Obviously he [Brown] had to have played some role as Secretary of the Air Force in the B-1 decision. As Director of DDR&E he had to play a role in a number of critical decisions about total package procurement, all of which were disasters. As a cost controller and as a weapons systems builder, he's got a lousy record."

Brown, trained as a nuclear scientist, has been associated with American military planning since the early 50s when he left Columbia University, where he had been an academic phenomenon, to work on the hydrogen bomb with Edward Teller at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory in California. Brown's rise to power at Lawrence has been described as meteoric. In 1952, two years after he arrived, he was placed in charge of thermonuclear weapons development at the new Livermore component of the Laboratory.

►Effort to avoid test ban treaty.

Brown became director of Lawrence in 1959, a position that allowed him to participate in the national debate going on around the testing of nuclear weapons. Brown was an opponent of test bans and with a group of scientists who were proteges of Teller helped to devise a hypothetical method by which detection of an underground nuclear blast could be avoided.

It involved hollowing out a huge underground cavern to deaden the shock of a nuclear explosion. The theory, which was apparently advanced to delay any test ban, was put to rest when it was revealed that the digging of a cavern of sufficient size would require moving more earth than all American mining operations moved in a year.

Brown left Lawrence in 1961 for the Pentagon where he assumed charge of the overall development of new weapons. He took much of the responsibility for backing Secretary McNamara's pet project, the F-111 fighter-bomber. McNamara attempted to force the Air Force and the Navy to accept a common multi-mission plane. The attempt ended in failure and both services have since developed different planes.

He was responsible for scaling back the B-70 strategic bomber, the predecessor to the controversial B-1. At the same time, however, he advocated a step-up in chemical and biological warfare planning.

Around the halls of the Pentagon he was called "child Brown" because of his youth and referred to as being, "brash, coldly arrogant, humorless, and overly ambitious," by military oldtimers.

►Vietnam a mistake...now.

When he accepted his nomination as Secretary of Defense, Brown called Vietnam a mistake and said that he would be more cautious about similar American intervention in the future.

As Secretary of the Air Force under Lyndon Johnson, Brown felt no such

When he accepted his nomination as Secretary of Defense, Brown called Vietnam a mistake.... As secretary of the Air Force under Lyndon Johnson, Brown felt no such qualms.... He was one of the first officials to propose 'free fire' zones as a substitute for increased ground troops.

qualms. "The free world forces are in Vietnam to prevent the success of aggression," Brown told the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce on Armed Forces Day four months after the Vietnamese Tet Offensive, "[We are there] to provide the South Vietnamese with a free choice as to how they shall be governed."

Before the Tet offensive an internal debate had gone on in the Pentagon over the effectiveness of bombing North Vietnam. Brown had argued forcefully, according to the *Pentagon Papers*, for a middle position between that of the Navy, which argued that bombing should cease above the 20th parallel in North Vietnam and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who had argued for unrestricted bombing including Hanoi and Haiphong and for mining of harbors and inland waterways. Brown convinced McNamara, who was leaning to the Navy's position, to continue to permit air strikes against targets north of the 20th parallel. He regarded bombing of the North as a "blue chip" to be exchanged for some recipro-

city by the North Vietnamese.

After the Tet offensive, when McNamara had become disenchanted with the war, Brown continued to call for greater escalation and heavier reliance on American airpower. He was one of the first Pentagon officials to propose "free fire" zones as a substitute for an increase in ground forces in South Vietnam.

When Nixon was elected in 1968 Brown left the Pentagon for the presidency of the California Institute of Technology. It was at this point that he underwent his "soul change" and joined the Nixon administration as a SALT negotiator.

During the last seven years Brown has also joined the boards of directors of several large corporations including IBM, where he shares a directorship with Cyrus Vance, the future Secretary of State, Times-Mirror, the parent company of the *Los Angeles Times*, and Schroders, Inc., a New York subsidiary of a London bank where he is a banking partner of Paul Nitze, a former Deputy Secretary of Defense and Carter adviser. ■

Changes in U.S. Army mean GIs may unionize

A stodgy union takes on controversial campaign.

By Michael Uhl and Tod Ensign

Imagine the possibility: an American GI jumps from his armored personnel carrier into the rubble strewn streets of New York in the midst of a major upheaval. When his squad is ordered to round up "suspicious persons, shooting any who threaten resistance," he refuses, citing a section of his union's contract with the Pentagon prohibiting his deployment in a domestic disorder. When threatened with court martial he files a grievance with his union representative.

Far fetched? Maybe, but the possibility of a military union may not be so far fetched or as far away as you might think. Today's military has changed from just a few years ago; there are forces already in motion towards unionization.

In September the American Federation of Government Employees, AFL-CIO in convention voted to change its constitution to allow GI membership, opening the way to organizing active-duty military personnel. The executive council, however, voted to postpone recruiting soldiers for six months. The union leadership, facing implacable opposition from the Pentagon, may be trying to gather and consolidate forces for the tough fight ahead. Or the decision may indicate that the union is balking and that at least a sizeable faction within the leadership is having second thoughts and would prefer to "go slow," perhaps in hopes of wringing other concessions from the federal government by dangling the threat of a GI union in its face.

►AFGE most logical union.

While other big unions, particularly the Teamsters and National Maritime Union,

have threatened to sign up GIs, AFGE is the most logical recruiter. It presently represents nearly 680,000 federal civilian workers, making it the tenth largest union in the U.S. Over half of these employees work for the Department of Defense side by side with uniformed personnel. The union has locals that bargain and negotiate with military commanders on nearly every important defense installation in the U.S. and in Europe. In 1973, the pay rate of service men and women was linked to that of civilian defense workers by a "wage comparability" statute. Since then, AFGE has had some success mobilizing military personnel and their dependants to assist its civilian membership in lobbying efforts for federal wage hikes which would benefit both civilian and military personnel.

It is somewhat paradoxical that a cautious and stodgy union like AFGE, with a very spotty record on contract negotiation and grievance advocacy, should voluntarily become embroiled in such a controversial campaign. AFGE, however, is responding to demands from a military workforce that has undergone marked change since the Vietnam ceasefire.

In 1969, when Nixon took over, the American military had been fought to a standstill in Vietnam and domestic opposition to intervention was growing daily. Nixon's planners modified American strategy abroad by dictating that American troops would be withdrawn in favor of "indigenous" armies. Our "free-world allies" were handsomely paid to expand and reequip their military units. With this shift Nixon was able to eliminate the draft and substantially reduce troop levels (from 3.4 to 2.1 million).



Federal workers hoisting an effigy of Oakland Army base commander Gen. Delmar last March in protest against layoffs. AFGE, their union, is actively trying to organize GIs.

The transition to an "all-volunteer" force fundamentally altered the racial, class, and sexual composition of the military. The percentage of blacks in all services has grown to 17 percent. In 1976 nearly a third of all army recruits were black, as were 30 percent of those who reenlisted after their first tour. While women still account for only one trooper in 20, their numbers doubled from mid-1973 to the present.

Once in uniform, the average GI finds work conditions within the military not all that changed from the repressive, irksome life that GIs have chafed under for decades. While paychecks are fatter, the hoopla about "exotic duty stations" and "challenging careers" wears thin rather quickly. The Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) continues to be employed by commanders as a means to "good order and discipline" rather than as an impartial legal code. As former Supreme Court Justice Douglas expressed it some years ago, "military law is basically disciplinary, rather than legal in nature." Rather than reducing the level of dissatisfaction, the introduction of the mercenary concept into the American military seems to have introduced problems long associated with civilian, not military workers.

►Concern over rising personnel costs.

To complicate matters, the Pentagon chiefs have become alarmed by the steady escalation of personnel costs as a percentage of the defense budget.

While the total budget has grown each year, payroll costs—now nearly 60 percent of the budget—have outstripped the Pentagon's ability to buy the hardware it desires. Major defense contractors, predictably, are also unhappy with this state of affairs. An "impartial" panel of blue-chip corporate leaders, the Defense Manpower Commission, has recently added its weight to reversing this trend. In a recent study it concluded "the Pentagon must determine ways to reduce manpower dollars, without impairing defense needs."

It's becoming clear to even the most gung-ho troopers that the traditional benefits that they have taken for granted (commissary and PX privileges, hospital care for dependants, retirement after 20 years, GI Bill benefits, etc.) are to be cut or eliminated. This has spread dissatisfaction up the ladder to the senior NCOs and officers. Because the "grunts"—who comprise 40 percent of the enlisted ranks—never expected much more than "three hots and a cot," their main grievance has been with the archaic system of military justice. The career NCOs and officers, by contrast, regard the withdrawal of benefits as a slap in the face by an ungrateful government.

A year ago, Army Capt. Ron Shauning (since dropped from the service) in cooperation with AFGE local 1157 informally surveyed over 5,000 servicepeople of all ranks and all service branches. An overwhelming majority endorsed the concept of one type or another GI union. The officers and NCOs typically would

mention the "protection of economic gains" as a central union goal, while the lower ranks were more concerned with protection from the military's justice system.

►Europe has unions.

Despite anguished shrieks from the likes of Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) and right-wing groups like Americans Against Union Control of Government, the idea of a soldiers' union isn't nearly as outlandish as it may sound. Soldiers' organizations have been a feature of the European social landscape for many years. Today, there are over 60 different unions in the various European militaries. Their authority and jurisdiction vary broadly; from the right to bargain collectively to conducting informal talks with the Defense Ministry. Military unions in Europe play a dual role: they help maintain labor peace (i.e., insure "productivity" and defense readiness) while at the same time they bring a measure of formal democracy to the ranks, along with meaningful material benefits.

One European union, the Dutch Conscripts Union (VVDM) provides an example of what an American union might look like. According to one of its organizers, "the main point of the union is that [it serves] as a weapon for soldiers to fight for their rights." So far the VVDM has made a good fight. Pay for recruits has increased 1200 percent, duty-hours are shorter and less arbitrary and working conditions are safer and more satisfying.

The next move is the union's. AFGE locals on military bases report a steady flow of inquiries about membership from uniformed personnel. Despite the wishes of GIs, the possibility remains that the national leadership will "trade-off" the recruitment of soldiers in exchange for tangible gains for its civilian membership. In fact, much of the rank and file opposition to organizing GIs stems from the fear of present AFGE members that such activity will further dilute an already weak union's strength.

In an interview with *In These Times*, AFGE president Ken Blaylock vigorously denied the likelihood of any such *quid pro quo*, stressing that the union is "serious" about its GI union plans. However, he made it clear that AFGE's commitment is not etched in stone. "Should Carter radically change Pentagon policies that now threaten the welfare of military personnel," he said, "their [the soldiers'] interest in the union might dissipate." This, presumably, would absolve AFGE of any responsibility to organize them.

For the present, AFGE's Executive Council has ordered a full-scale study of all economic and legal aspects of such a drive. It has also mandated a plebiscite on the question to be conducted on a local-by-local basis.

Meanwhile, the soldiers and sailors wait.

Michael Uhl and Tod Ensign work with Citizen Soldier (175 Fifth Ave., NYC 10010), a committee concerned with rank and file democracy within a military union.

Dynamic young AFGE leader learns power of numbers

When the government let him go, the workers hired him.

One of the most dynamic young voices within AFGE is 28-year-old Clayton Pao, president of Local 1597, Oakland Army Terminal, Calif. Pao, who is of Hawaiian, Chinese and Portuguese descent, grew up in Honolulu and first set foot on the U.S. mainland at the age of 18. Within a few months, he was working as a clerk at the Oakland Army base, then a key supply terminal for the Vietnam war effort. As U.S. involvement escalated, Pao became deeply involved in the Bay Area's anti-war movement. Clayton took time off and joined the front lines against his employer.

Pao had no interest in the labor movement at the time, but joined AFGE as a favor to a fellow worker. Once he began to attend the local's meetings, however, his attitude changed. "Just because the local wasn't doing much, didn't mean something couldn't be done," Pao explains. Soon he was elected shop steward and then vice president. In 1970, the local's president was removed by the national headquarters for "malfeasance," and Pao succeeded him.

Under Pao's leadership, the union has made some real gains. Over 80 percent of the present work force are members of 1157. Since membership is voluntary many AFGE locals are happy if they can maintain half that percentage. But Pao and his staff have been aggressively pressing and winning many grievances that wouldn't have been filed a few years ago.

By March 1976 severe personnel layoffs had pushed the union to the wall.

The Army proposed closing the terminal entirely and turning over the facilities to private contractors who employ non-union labor. In response 1157 voted unanimously to stage a demonstration on post, during duty hours. This attracted extensive media coverage; it was billed as the first such work stoppage by federal workers. Over 500 workers rallied in front of the headquarters building and listened to a variety of speakers, from VFW officers to Elaine Brown of the Black Panther party. An effigy of post commander Gen. Delmar was hoisted aloft and then burned, to the cheers of the crowd. The Army cancelled plans for closure and, at least for the present, the workers' jobs are secure. But the military decided that same day that Clayton Pao's government job was no longer needed and he was, as the GIs say, "RIF'd." At some sacrifice, the local voted to create a full-time paid position for Pao. Within AFGE this is unusual as most locals limp along with volunteer leadership and part-time clerical help.

At the AFGE convention in September, Pao was outspoken in favor of signing up GIs. "Many GIs have approached us after getting Article 15s (non-judicial punishment). They want us to intervene informally with the brass. Most of them just don't trust the military's in-house complaint process," he said in an interview. "I've learned the power of numbers in this job. The managers listen to groups, not isolated individuals."

IN THE WORLD

Sinn Fein leader seeks united Ireland

"If you didn't unite with them you'd have to kill them," Marin de Burca says of protestants.

By David Moberg

The bloody, intractable turmoil of Northern Ireland has produced more than its share of apparently inscrutable behavior, unreasonable atavisms and political tangles.

Here, on the surface, is another enigma: a leader of the oldest political organization fighting for a united, independent Ireland admits that Protestants in Northern Ireland have good reason to fear Catholic domination, opposes immediate British withdrawal as a surefire step toward more catastrophic civil war and supports the growing, amorphous but largely "unpolitical" peace movement started by two women in Belfast.

The leader is Mairin de Burca, joint general secretary of Sinn Fein, which means "We Ourselves." It is the socialist political party, unofficially linked with the illegal Official Irish Republican Army. She recently toured the U.S. to rebut prevailing myths about the Northern Irish conflict.

A leader in the Irish women's movement and in defense of prisoners' rights, de Burca, 38, became widely known in Ireland following her frequent arrests in street protests and direct actions and her more recent political campaigns in the Republic of Ireland. De Burca has a tough style, with flashes of an understated sardonic wit. In Chicago, she wore a pin that was then more appropriate than now: on a three-leafed clover were the words "Irish Against Daley."

►Expelling British not enough.

The two most prominent American misconceptions about the Northern Irish conflict are, she said, that it is a religious war and that British occupation is the only problem. Yet, she added, both are partly true.

"The simplistic attitude that all you need to do is expel the British troops is certainly wrong," she says, implicitly arguing against Bernadette Devlin's position. "If you expel the British then you would face the situation of fighting a majority which does not want to be in the Republic."

For decades the republican movement in Ireland had gone through cycles of preparing for armed attack on the British, glorified as "dying for Ireland," and then sinking back into years of recuperation and romantic nostalgia while preparing for the next attack. De Burca went through such a phase, then grew disillusioned with how irrelevant republicanism had become to daily problems of most Irish people.

In 1965, the IRA committed itself to fighting for a secular and socialist republic. "After that we were no longer able to dismiss the fact that a majority of the population in Northern Ireland was Protestant and Loyalist," she says. "We argued for working class unity of Protestant and Catholic. This would seem to be almost impossible. Not only was it not impossible; it had to be done. If you didn't unite with them, you had to kill them."

The strategy has led to both difficult problems and imaginative activity. It soon led, for example, to the split within the IRA that produced the Provisional IRA, or Provos. It also led Sinn Fein to challenge directly Catholic clerical power in both parts of Ireland.

►Fear of Catholic domination justified.

"When Protestants in the North say they fear Catholic domination, most sane people agree that their fears are well-grounded," de Burca says. "The old fear that 'home rule is Rome rule' is justified. Protestant opposition to a united Ireland is logical at present."

Sinn Fein's program of phased withdrawal of the British (first to their bar-



Marin de Burca, general secretary of Sinn Fein

racks) and stopping religious sectarian attacks by both Protestants and Catholics is intended to open space for constructive political work that can have a chance of allaying some Protestant fears. It will also make more plausible unified action by Catholics and Protestants on issues of unemployment and poor housing.

While they want to give Protestants good reasons not to fear a united Ireland, the Sinn Fein works on a separate front to undermine the grip of the Catholic church on Ireland. "The grip of the church is loosening," de Burca says, "Modern times bring modern problems to people. The church's reactionary attitude to the problems of the people is one thing that alienates them."

"Take the issue of family planning, which is a major problem for some young couples, who are getting married, trying to settle down and have a home, and they don't want 25 children. The church has proved itself totally incapable of looking with sympathy on their situation."

"I'm not saying the secular republic is around the corner. The church, though, is assisting us in her own way."

Sinn Fein backs the tentative opposition to church policies among Catholics. For the sake of Protestants and a secular, socialist republic, it advocates a state takeover of a vast range of social services still in the hands of the church—health, hospitals, juvenile correction centers and, of course, schools.

The Provos, although usually denounced by the church for their devotion to armed attacks on soldiers and civilians, have what de Burca calls an "uneasy relationship" with the church. Despite verbal attack and counterattack between church and Provos, de Burca says, "they are very deeply devout Catholics. They have said they intend to maintain the Catholic nature of schools, that the

church has done a tremendous job of educating Irish children."

The split between the Provisionals, who rely heavily on assassinations and bombings, and the Officials, who since 1972 have shunned violence except in self-defense, has led to bitter and even armed conflict between the groups.

The Provos have a slogan—"Brits first, Stickies next." The "Stickies" are the Official IRA, nicknamed after the kind of identifying badge they wear during celebrations of the Easter Uprising in 1916.

The Provos, de Burca argues, are unified only by their militarism and hatred of the British. Although a few years ago, the Provos had wide support among Northern Ireland's Catholics, de Burca says that has been dissipated in the wake of years of brutal, senseless attacks on civilians.

"If there's a lull in their fighting they tend to disagree among themselves," she says. "the only thing that keeps them together and going is just the militarist struggle, because they haven't got any ideology. Most of their splinter groups are now freelance people operating in Ireland, who disagreed with the Provo leadership on one thing or another. They've just gone off and formed their own group with 10 or 12 people in it, and they operate in a place like South Armagh, shooting and blowing up people. It's just anarchistic."

"The Provos did call a cease-fire in 1973, and so unpopular was it with their own organization, with so many groups breaking away and doing their own military thing, that the Provos provoked an incident to resume the campaign before they were totally wiped out and disintegrated."

"What they tend to do in those situations is to create the one thing that can unite them: antagonism toward us. If they have a cease-fire with the British Army and can't be taking pot shots at them, then they attack us."

►A tizzy about peace.

Peace would undermine the Provos even further. The peace marches, initiated by Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams, two Catholic women in their 30s, started last August. They have had phenomenal success among Catholics and Protestants largely because of growing public revulsion against the increasingly pointless killings of civilians. The Provos, a victim of that reaction, join some other groups in attacking the "peace people."

The Official IRA in Northern Ireland supports the marches, however, but only surreptitiously. "We just go to the marches as individuals," said de Burca, who works almost entirely in Dublin, not in the North. "It would be the kiss of death if we openly [supported them]. We have issued statements supporting them, but I don't agree with trying to move in and take them over."

The peace people succeed largely because of cooperative media coverage, not because of organization. They also keep the marches aimed at their one target, avoiding all thorny entanglements. "They don't have many speeches," de Burca said of their rallies, "and they don't allow religious leaders to take any control, which is a good thing. Normally in something like this, the Catholic church would move in immediately and you have an archbishop blessing the crowd before they start out. They've resisted this, which is very clever of them. It must have been very difficult to do, which argues that they're not as green as people would have you think."

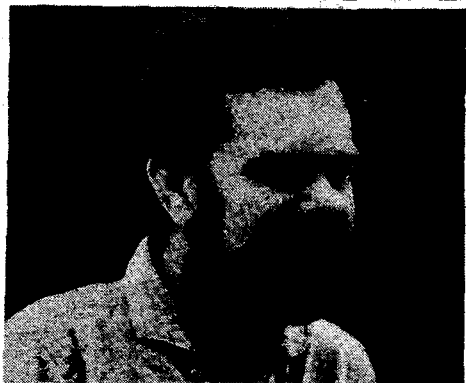
De Burca and Sinn Fein hope for only one thing from the peace marches: an end to the violence. "If they stop the violence," she says, "that will allow us to carry on political activity. Now it hasn't stopped the violence. It's still there, but I think it has lessened it."

If the British withdrew to their barracks, de Burca believes that the Provos would be politically undermined. Unification of the country remains the solution, she argued, but it can only be achieved by first unifying the different factions around at first modest reforms.

Such a strategy draws venom from other left and republican groups. "The demand for peace is not Marxist," de Burca said, "but in the context of Northern Ireland it is very revolutionary at the moment. This is where the Trots [Trotskyists], the Provos and everybody has a stroke when you say the word 'peace.' They look at it as 'bourgeois,' 'social democratic,' 'liberal' or 'pacifist,' and they get all uptight about it. You can get people into the worst tizzy just mentioning the word peace."

"It's just a tactic. Nobody's looking for peace because we're all upset about war, although a lot of people are upset about war. The reason we're looking for peace is to allow us to operate openly and intensively in a political way to unite the Protestants and Catholics. If we have to look for something that sounds as reactionary as peace, then we look for it. If people can't see behind the facade to the reality, that's their problem."

With only 5,000 members from both parts of Ireland in Sinn Fein and an undisclosed number in the IRA itself, the "Officials" have a difficult task, especially when anti-socialist sentiment is so strong in the pervasively religious country and even in the republican tradition. Most reports on Ireland's warring political groups can easily conclude by saying "a pox on all your houses." It is impressive that there is at least one organization with a subtle, rational approach to the Irish morass, eschewing myths and basing future hopes on the full range of immediate and often discouraging realities of the Irish present. ■



Mervyn Jones

Scots, Welsh parties press for autonomy, threaten labor rule

During 1977 the dominant topic in British politics—at least in Parliament—will be devolution. This graceless word refers to the granting of partial autonomy to Scotland and Wales. Many English people, not to mention Europeans and Americans, are mystified as to why the issue has suddenly come to the fore.

By any definition of the term, Scotland and Wales are nations. They have been subjected to a long process of anglicization, of which the chief agents have been economic power emanating from London and an educational system based on a mainly English literature and culture. This process, at its peak in the 19th century, has been halted and in some respects reversed by a growing consciousness of nationhood.

In recent decades attachment to Britain has been weakened by a realization—especially on the part of the pragmatic, hard-headed Scots—that Britain is not a very successful or well-managed enterprise. Tied to an economy plagued by inflation and insolvency, the Scots increasingly feel that they could do better on their own. The idea has been greatly stimulated by the development of large reserves of North Sea oil off the Scottish coast. The most effective slogan of the Scottish National party is: "It's Scotland's Oil."

►Between Saudi Arabia and Senegal.

Now for the politics. The overwhelming majority of Britain's population is English, a fact that rules out a simple federal solution. At the last election, 40 million people were entitled to vote of whom 33 million were in England, 3.5 million in Scotland, 2 million in Wales, and the balance in Northern Ireland. But, by a long-standing concession, Scotland and Wales are over-represented in Parliament; Scotland has 71 and Wales 36 of the 635 MPs.

Scotland tends to vote Labor, though it returns a fair number of Tory members. Wales, since the decline of the Liberal party, has voted massively Labor; in 1966, to take a fairly recent instance, the Labor party won 32 of the 36 Welsh seats. Without the Scottish and Welsh votes, there would have been few Labor governments.

The Welsh nationalist party (Plaid Cymru) has improved its fortunes but has yet to achieve a breakthrough. At the last election in October 1974 it drew 11 percent of the Welsh vote and won three seats. The Scottish National party, however, is at breakthrough point. At that election it drew 30 percent of the Scottish vote and won 11 seats. Most of these seats were won from the Tories, while Labor just managed to retain control of its strongholds in Glasgow and the central industrial belt. Still, one industrial seat did fall to the SNP, and in a score of others the Labor pluralities were dangerously small. Given the chancy workings of the simple-plurality system, the SNP could sweep the board by upping its share of the poll to 40 percent.

The SNP and Plaid Cymru stand for complete independence—in a famous utterance, one Scots nationalist envisaged the day when "Scotland will take her place at the UN between Saudi Arabia and Senegal." The older parties take comfort from the fact that most Scots and Welsh people don't share this aspiration, or so the opinion polls indicate. But Scots in particular are inclined to vote SNP because they see the nationalists as the best champions of Scottish interests.

The SNP is a vigorous party with a youngish and active membership; it has at present more individual members than the ramshackle Labor party. And Scottish and Welsh people—more emphatically the former—do want a na-

tional authority with real powers to reform the social and economic structure.

►A block grant but no taxing powers.

The government's devolution scheme, now before Parliament, offers a Scottish Assembly with law-making powers within defined limits. (This is not a complete innovation, since Scottish law has always differed from English law in various respects.) There would be a Scottish executive, constituting a sort of government responsible to the assembly. Wales would also get its assembly, though without law-making powers, and its executive.

The main bone of contention is that the assemblies would have no powers of taxation. They would be given a "block grant" by the British treasury, which they would be free to apportion to housing, welfare or other purposes. At first glance it is hard to see why Scotland and Wales shouldn't be allowed to institute a sales tax or a gasoline duty, while every American state has that right and the Union survives. English politicians of both parties, however, consider that fiscal powers would be the entering-wedge for independence. The SNP loudly declares that the assembly and executive would have no real capacity to reshape the economy, so the scheme is a mere palliative.

If the devolution bill goes through Parliament according to plan, the assemblies will be elected in 1978. It is being suggested (notably by Tories fearful of seeing their party vanish altogether from the scene) that the election should be by proportional representation. Certainly, if the simple-plurality system is used, the SNP is likely to emerge in firm control of the assembly and executive in Edinburgh. The consequence would be a series of furious battles over the size of the block grant and probably a determined demand

for fiscal powers. Should that demand not be conceded, one would have to expect far more Scots to favor complete independence.

►Devolution as first installment.

As the parliamentary debate opens, it is pleasant to record that the Tories are in worse trouble than the Labor party. They are supposed to be in favor of the principle of devolution, but Margaret Thatcher decided to vote against the first reading of the bill, a blunder comparable to Sen. Goldwater's vote against the Civil Rights Bill. Led by former Tory leader Edward Heath, who is always glad to make life difficult for Thatcher, 30 Tory MPs voted for the first reading.

Labor also has problems; a dozen or so Labor MPs, mostly left-wingers, regard the scheme as a diversion from social issues and a threat to the solidarity of the English, Scottish and Welsh working class. But the government's first-reading majority was a comfortable 45, pretty good considering that its paper majority is only one. The SNP and Plaid Cymru are voting for devolution as an installment; the Liberals are also for it.

All is not clear sailing, however. The bill is a complicated one and the government is almost sure to meet defeat on some clauses. The issue of fiscal powers will come increasingly to the fore. Given success in the House of Commons, there is the possibility of a rougher passage in the Tory-dominated House of Lords. And another economic crisis could bring about the collapse of the government at any time during 1977. The ensuing election could well result in a Tory victory, based on the preponderant English votes, and at the same time an SNP triumph in Scotland. Both would be very bad news for Labor.

New study sparks Mexican abortion controversy

By Harvey Levenstein

The abortion controversy has exploded in Catholic Mexico, the indirect result of last year's International Woman's Year. Motivated by IWY, six female Mexican researchers undertook the first comprehensive study of abortion in Mexico. The results, published in a book called *El Aborto en Mexico (Abortion in Mexico)*, were shocking, propelling the academic book into instant "best-seller" status.

Most Mexicans know that illegal abortions are common in their country, but few dreamed that the practice was as widespread as the researchers claim. According to them, despite Mexico's laws, which forbid abortions except in cases where the mother's life is directly endangered, one out of every three Mexican women of child-bearing age has had at least one illegal abortion. One out of every five Mexican pregnancies are terminated by abortions, they say.

Abortion in Mexico says that one third of the women who have abortions require hospitalization because of severe hemorrhaging and/or infections. The medical subdirector of the government Social Security Institute says that 80,000 aborted women come to its hospitals each year, and then "only when they are on the point of death."

►Catholicism doesn't discourage abortion.

The women researchers have destroyed the myth that abortion in Mexico is the preserve of prostitutes and other single "fallen women." Sixty-five percent of the women who have abortions are either

married or live in "free unions."

Catholicism seems to be relatively ineffective in discouraging abortion in Mexico. Eighty-six percent of the women who

According to them, despite Mexico's laws, which forbid abortions except in cases where the mother's life is directly endangered, one out of every three Mexican women has had at least one illegal abortion.

had abortions call themselves Catholics.

Unfamiliarity with or unwillingness to use birth control seems to play a major role in causing the flood of abortions. Seventy percent of the women had more than four children and 52 percent gave too many children as the main reason for having abortions. Another 27 percent said that they could not afford more children.

As in many countries, there is a decided class difference in methods of abortion and their safety. Illegal abortions performed by a doctor under safe clinical conditions cost from \$320 to \$480 (U.S.). Only the middle and upper classes can afford them. The poor are forced to rely on the more dangerous methods, often inserting unsanitary devices into the uterus.

One of the most ancient methods is still common: almost 15 percent of the women aborted themselves by taking native herbs and potions. Many of the poor of this country still swear by traditional folk medicine, as do some of their better-off relatives. "When my wife seemed to be pregnant with a child that we could not afford,

we hopped on the bus down to the little village in the mountains of Vera Cruz where I'm from," said a graduate student at Mexico City's National University re-

cently. "There, my grandmother, who is the local 'curer,' gave my wife a potion." "I threw up like crazy," said the wife, "and felt sick as a dog for a few days, but the stuff really worked!"

Although exact figures on deaths due to abortion do not exist, the authors estimate that a high percentage of the deaths due to abortion are the result of bacteriological shock due to unsanitary conditions.

►A thunderous response.

There is only a small organized movement to repeal the anti-abortion laws. Those few who advocate change concentrate just as much on the necessity for better family planning programs to disseminate birth control information and devices as upon the necessity to change the anti-abortion laws.

Nevertheless, the increase in suggestions that the anti-abortion laws be changed has produced a thunderous response from the Catholic church. "Abortion is murder," said the Bishop of Mexico City in a headline-making statement. "If what is

intended is to combat the demographic explosion, the best way of doing that is through truly responsible parenthood," he said, indicating that he supported the idea of the government's program of the same name.

Although some government deputies in Mexico's feeble congress have tentatively come out for changes in the abortion laws, the President and his cabinet who control the real political power, have been notably silent on the issue.

Other public figures are trying to hedge their bets as well. The head of gynaecology and obstetrics at Mexico City's Woman's Hospital managed to grab some headlines by condemning abortion as damaging to women, without making it clear whether he meant all abortions or just illegal abortions. It could lead to permanent sterility or early menopause, he warned.

It is unlikely that President-elect Lopez Portillo will risk an open confrontation with the Church over an issue which would bring him few political benefits. Unlike Italy, there is no noisy organized woman's movement in Mexico to pressure the government. There is also no strong leftist movement goading the government into defying the church. The Mexican government party, the *Partido de la Revolucion Institucional* has only recently lived down a reputation for being anti-clerical. It is unlikely that Lopez Portillo feels strongly enough on the abortion issue to provoke another Church/State conflict over it.

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Willy Brandt, president of Socialist International, and Bernt Carlsson of the Swedish Social Democratic labor party.

Left trend stalled in Socialist International

By Bruce Vandervort

From its founding in 1889 to World War I, the Second International unified the world socialist movement. But the socialist parties split over the issue of participation in World War I and then later over support for the Russian Revolution. In 1919 the Third International was formed under Soviet leadership.

The two internationals and their successor organizations tended to be mirror-images of each other. The Third International was committed to the overthrow of capitalism, but tightly controlled by the Soviet Union and reflecting its undemocratic vision of socialism. The Second International and the post-World War II Socialist International were anti-Communist and reformist in their outlook.

But the ferment of the 1960s made it impossible to speak simply of Soviet Communism on the one side and reformist anti-Communist Social-Democracy on the other. Several European communist parties have thrown off their dependence on the Soviet Union and have re-introduced democracy as an essential component of socialism. Several social-democratic parties have opened dialogues with the communist parties and contain genuinely socialist tendencies within them.

The following report of the Socialist International's recent Geneva congress indicates some of the different tendencies within the international, but views pessimistically the prospect of completely transforming the international from the left.

Geneva. The Socialist International since its reconstitution in 1946 has been dominated by the pre-World War II generation of European social democrats who have kept it more or less firmly in the orbit of the Atlantic Alliance. As the illusions of the Kennedy years began to fade before the realities of American aggression in Indochina and counter-insurgency in Africa and Latin America, however, their position began to be threatened.

By the end of the '60s a revived European left, manifested in the anti-Vietnam

war protest movements in Scandinavia, the German Federal Republic and in the French upheaval in May-June 1968 had imposed a more independent outlook on some of the social democratic parties. This led to the formation of a moderate left within the international, united around its opposition to the old guard's Cold War policies.

In the early '70s, prospects seemed good for a renewal of European socialism and of the international. In 1971, the French Socialist party reconstituted itself with a leftwing majority. In 1972, social-democratic election victories followed in Australia, New Zealand and the German Federal Republic (where the leftist "Young Socialists" or "Jusos" played a considerable role in Willy Brandt's SPD). At its Vienna Congress in 1972, the international also seemed on the verge of coming to grips with Third World problems and the implications of detente.

But the advent of world recession in 1974-75 brought defeat to important social democratic parties and generally reversed the leftward trend in the international. As the international convened this last November for its 13th congress, it was in the wake of the defeat of the Swedish Social Democratic Labor party, its first defeat in 40 years, and an unexpectedly narrow victory by the German SPD.

Thus, despite considerable press ballyhoo to the contrary, most parties did not come to Geneva in an innovative mood. Faced with the complex issues of Eurocommunism, Third World liberation, detente, and the nature of socialism itself, the parties either did little or nothing to modify traditional international positions.

Those that wanted to continue the left direction of the early 1970s departed disappointed. "Everybody agrees that there has to be a change," a French delegate said, "but I don't think the old guard realizes that the change must be far-reaching and immediate. Sometimes I think this organization has a suicide complex."

► Dialogue with the CPs.

While European social democrats have accepted detente with communism beyond

"Everybody agrees that there has to be a change," a French delegate said, "but I don't think the old guard realizes that the change must be far-reaching and immediate. Sometimes I think this organization has a suicide complex."

their borders, some have strongly opposed the attempt by European communist parties to form "common fronts" with the social democratic parties. Differences of opinion on this point produced a row last year between the SPD and the French, Spanish and Italian Socialist parties—parties that have made or are negotiating electoral alliances with the Communists.

The social democrats have since reluctantly accepted the notion that the different political situation prevailing in southern Europe makes such alliances necessary, but feelings continue to run high on this subject. Thus, Giuseppe Saragat of the Italian Social Democrats (a small party to the right of the Italian Socialists) said, "The Italian Communist party is like a snail; it can come out of its shell, but it can never deny its Leninist principles."

Saragat, whose party has been an important recipient of CIA funds over the years, went on to insinuate that PCI participation in the Italian government would lead to Soviet intervention as in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

The final resolution, while finding the Eastern bloc countries reluctant to implement the 1975 Helsinki Accords, did commit the international to seek ways to broaden detente. And an ancient obstacle to Eastern bloc contacts was scaled down by adoption of a British Labor party motion obliging the various Socialist International-associated Eastern European socialist parties-in-exile to merge into a single body.

► Still worlds apart.

Debate on the "New International Economic Order" gave a good indication of the limits on international receptiveness to Third World initiatives. West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who seems to enjoy his role as the international's Jimmy Cagney, dropped in briefly to let the delegates know that he thought that talking about new world economic relationships was a waste of time. If countries were facing empty coffers, it was due to bad economic management; instead of indulging in ideological speculation, they ought to be fighting inflation.

Senegal President Leopold Senghor put the case for the developing nations. Since the massive external debt of the Third World was due to the inequitable terms of trade, he argued, 50 percent of it ought to be absorbed by the industrialized countries. Also, Third World nations that spent over 20 percent of their budgets on arms should be denied foreign aid. Senghor's modest proposals (other advocates urged a total moratorium on external debts) were not seriously debated.

The upshot was a resolution calling for "further study" of the matter. French Socialist party economist Michel Rocard, however, shocked delegates by denouncing the resolution as a "botched compromise."

► Third world on parade.

Since all of the substantive issues had been covered during the economic order debate earlier, the discussion on "The Situation in the Third World" was simply intended to formalize the international's much-heralded "opening to the Third World." But, as the earlier debate had clearly demonstrated, that "opening" was more symbolic than real.

Seeking membership beyond its European base poses ideological problems for all of the tendencies within the international. To begin with, socialism of the European variety (with the possible exception of that preached by French socialists) has little appeal in the developing world; its gradualist approach to economic and social questions offers little to peoples seeking immediate national liberation and economic justice.

Therefore, most of the Third World parties admitted to the international are "socialist" in only the vaguest sense

(Michael Manley's Jamaica People's National Party would be a notable exception). Most are either left liberal formations like the Argentine Radical party or political reflections of "strongman" regimes that have given themselves a "progressive" allure, like Senghor's Senegal Progressive Union.

The international's left opposition, while it might prefer bypassing these parties in favor of closer links with the various national liberation movements, is aware that the other social democrats would never accept it. So, although the international continues to give financial and moral support to movements like SWAPO in Namibia and FRELIMO in Mozambique, their more explicitly revolutionary postures and ties with the USSR (or China) exclude them from membership.

Social democratic opposition has also been crucial as far as relations with the Arab "socialist" parties are concerned. Malta Premier Dom Mintoff's motion to admit them to the international was rejected on the grounds that the parties in question had not made formal application for affiliation. While a case for refusal could have been made on the basis of the dubious nature of "Arab socialism," the real reason for the rejection was a potential veto by the Israeli Labour party, supported by the social democrats. Largely on the insistence of Bruno Kreisky (Austria), well-known for his good relations with the Arab peoples, an amendment was adopted providing for "association" of the Arab parties with the work of the international.

► Future of the left.

Some observers saw the 13th Congress a victory for the left. The new president, Willy Brandt, after all, is more open to the left than was his predecessor, Bruno Pitterman of Austria. As well, three leading figures of the moderate left were made "super vice-presidents": Bruno Kreisky, in charge of relations with the Arab states; Olof Palme, in charge of relations with the Third World; and Francois Mitterand (France), in charge of contacts with the communist parties.

This does not add up, however, to a victory for a left bloc or position. The moderate left has always been more of an alliance of personalities than a coalition of parties. Besides, its members are agreed on only one point: a desire to rid the international of its cold war rigidities. Beyond that, there is little common ground.

For instance, the Austrian, Benelux and Scandinavian parties, like the German SPD, have abandoned class struggle in favor of welfare statism, while the French and other Southern European parties have not. This doctrinal difference is reflected in attitudes toward industrial democracy. The Northern Europeans favor a system of "co-determination," while the French and Southern Europeans are committed to "autogestion" or workers' self-management.

If a left bloc is to emerge within the international, it is not likely to come from the contemporary moderate left opposition or from an "opening" to the Third World. Instead, everything depends on the future evolution of the balance of forces within key European member parties. Some important developments to watch will be: (1) the direction taken by the Swedish Social Democratic Labour party now that it is out of power, (2) the success of the "Juso" faction within the SPD and the British Labour party left in surviving "witch-hunts" by their respective right-wing leaderships and (3) the success of the left within the French Socialist party in forcing the party's technocratic leadership to remain faithful to its Marxist program.

Bruce Vandervort is a journalist living in Geneva.



Edward Sadlowski

Photo by Robert Grumbert

Faceoff in the Steelworkers

By David Moberg
National Staff Writer

Three hundred steelworkers, a cross-section of the varied ages and ethnicities of the men and women who work the big mills of South Chicago and northern Indiana, had taken their places on the folding metal chairs or were leaning against the wall of the local American Legion hall. The rumble of conversation turned to a roar as Ed Sadlowski and the four other members of his slate for international union office mounted the small stage.

People had jumped to their feet, but Sadlowski nervously urged them to sit down. "Don't stand up for no man," he told the crowd of union members. "You're our leader. I stand up for you. Don't forget that, and we'll all be better off."

The small gesture indicates what Ed Sadlowski's campaign for the steelworkers' presidency represents—a challenge to old patterns in the union further solidified during the 12-year term of I.W. Abel, who is retiring because of his age. Instead of an entrenched bureaucracy making the decisions, Sadlowski urges the expansion of direct democratic control of the union. Instead of union policies that look first to the welfare of the industry, Sadlowski advocates unionism that carries the banner of workers into a battle with management, always presumed to be an antagonist.

► McBride, the official family's candidate.

His opponent in the Feb. 8 election is Lloyd McBride, 60, who was part of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in the '30s, a staff representative since 1940 and three-term director of the St. Louis district of the union. Despite efforts to outflank insurgent Sadlowski from the left by proposing ambitious programs, McBride is a loyal member of what insiders call "the official family" that has run the union. He has pledged to follow in Abel's footsteps, and Abel has rewarded him with an endorsement and a promise of active campaigning on his behalf.

Sادلowski, 38, has been a fast-rising maverick strongly at odds with the union hierarchy. After serving elected positions in his local at U.S. Steel's South Works in Chicago, he was made a staff representative, then ran for district director in 1973 against Sam Evett, the official family choice. Evett claimed victory, but Sadlowski shouted fraud, which was soon found in abundance. In the 1974 re-run, fought by the Abel leadership, Sadlowski won by a two to one margin.

Since Sadlowski and McBride announced their candidacies last fall, the flurry of campaign rhetoric has often obscured both the differences between the candidates and the major policy issues before the 1.3 million members of the union. Both candidates have promised dramatic goals such as shorter work weeks and year-long (or even life-time) job security. Even beyond judgments about which man is more likely to deliver on similar pledges, there are strong differences in tone and direction between the two campaigns. In two-hour interviews with *In These Times*, each candidate responded to charges from his opponent and laid out his major positions.

Experimental Negotiating Agreement: Although slightly less than 40 percent of the Steelworkers membership is in basic steel, the approach of the two candidates to the Experimental Negotiating Agreement indicates their different brands of unionism. Negotiated secretly by Abel in 1973 and never submitted to the membership for ratification, ENA provided a cash bonus and a 3 percent guaranteed annual wage increase in exchange for the union's promise not to strike on national contract issues.

McBride thinks ENA has served the steelworkers well. The 1974 contract that expires this spring provided 35 percent wage increase, better cost-of-living coverage and expanded pensions. "If this does not serve our membership well again," he says, "then it will not be renewed" after this year.

Sادلowski is unequivocally opposed to the ENA. He wants to submit it to

steelworkers for their vote, however. He criticizes it as "stripping our economic muscle down to the bone," by eliminating the national strike. Economic gains under ENA have not been good enough, he says, claiming that steelworker wages, which once surpassed the moderate standard of living calculated by the government, now fall short of that standard. "You also measure by ... the amount of increase we got in the contract compared with the profit in the industry," he said. "That don't look too damn good."

► Larger question of workers' power.

Behind the debate on gains under ENA is a more fundamental division on how workers can exercise power. McBride thinks that ENA gives the union power because it benefits the steel corporations so much that they will be willing to concede major points in order to preserve it.

Why would industry agree to his demands? "Because they want to preserve ENA," he answers. "We have the leverage here to do a lot of things. Why does the industry want to preserve ENA? Because it is a means of making money for them, it's a profit-making thing for them, it's good for them, it protects their market in the United States, and it provides them an opportunity to utilize the mills without the costs of stockpiling and without the threats of import of foreign steel. ... That threat of foreign imports is the reason they want to keep ENA."

"The threat of withdrawing ENA then gives you the power of ENA? Sadlowski asked with a deep laugh. "What is that? A riddle? Is the man playing child's games? So I put something in that benefits the industrialist and then I threaten to withdraw it. Oh, God, that even says the ENA benefits the boss. Well, if it benefits the boss, then there's something amiss. Our union should be negotiating things that benefit the workers, not things that benefit the bosses. Benefit for the bosses is at the detriment of the workers, isn't it? At least in the neighborhood I come from it is."

► Stabilizing employment.

McBride claims that ENA "did stabilize employment in the industry" by eliminating "crisis bargaining." In contract years since the last steel strike in 1959, consumers have stockpiled steel in anticipation of a strike. Later steelworkers would be laid off while inventories were used up. In 1971, McBride says, 100,000 steelworkers were laid off for six months after the contract was signed. Union and industry leaders claimed that foreign steel producers increased their U.S. market share at times when buyers were unsure of their supply. In 1971, imports hit their peak of 17.9 percent of the market.

Sادلowski counters this defense of ENA with several arguments. ENA did not stabilize employment, he says. Although that was its selling point, "if you look at it in depth, it wasn't supposed to protect jobs," he claims. If you want ENA to protect jobs then you've got to say that we've got 400,000 jobs that fall under ENA and if you want this type of negotiation, then we'll have to have a guarantee of 400,000 jobs as long as it lasts. What do you think the steel industry would have said to that? There are 65,000 fewer steelworkers producing the same amount of steel as three years ago, Sadlowski says. Industry profits in 1974 were at record levels, although they have sagged in the past two years as the industry's expensive factories have been used well below their capacity.

► The "foreign import game."

Sادلowski speaks of the "foreign import game" played by the steel companies and accepted by McBride as a "sham." "If you look into it enough," he says, "you find that the majority of the products that are being imported into this country, as it has been for the last 15 years, are products that the American steel industry is walking away from producing. Wire, for example, was ignored in the '60s because the emphasis was put on structural steel for skyscrapers. High-alloy steel today [is ignored]. I've seen them close down the stainless mill in Gary

for months. They go to a greater acceleration of another product because it's more profitable."

Even corporate officials now downplay the foreign import threat. Two devaluations of the dollar and rising fuel costs for production and transportation have raised the relative price of foreign steel, which now costs more here on the average than U.S. steel. Two detailed studies of the industry recently have argued that imports were never a real threat to employment of American steelworkers even in the late '60s. Also, even before ENA was signed, imports had dropped to 12.4 percent of the U.S. market.

But if ENA were dropped under a Sadlowski administration the union would face problems posed by stockpiling, which has not ended even under ENA. According to Sadlowski's calculation, industry can produce a year's supply of steel in nine months. This could greatly weaken the impact of a strike. Although he has not yet committed himself to a solution, Sadlowski talked of approaching the problem through the bargaining process. "You say at the bargaining table that the union is going to have a voice in how much is going to be produced in a given facility." That would restrain the industry's power to stockpile and prolong a strike and increase the union's power drastically.

Steel price increase: When the major steel companies announced their second 6 percent price increase of 1976 on sheet steel, the union was divided. McBride has made no public statement on the price increase, but his staff indicated that he probably agrees with I. W. Abel who defended it.

Sadlowski accuses both Abel and McBride of taking the company line on prices, productivity and profit. "I never heard one of those guys say one damn lick about the recent 6 percent price increase," he said angrily. "Now, look, how the hell can the steel industry be competitive if they raise prices another 6 percent. I interpret their move as garnering a greater degree of profit, even more than they do now. That's not what they taught me in the school books about the market and the free enterprise system."

Contract ratification: In four major industries, steel, aluminum, container and non-ferrous metals, members of the steelworkers union do not directly ratify the contract. As part of his general campaign for greater rank and file involvement and union democracy, Sadlowski has called for referendum votes on contracts. McBride favors the current vote by representatives in an industry conference.

Direct ratification by members would destroy industry-wide bargaining, McBride maintains, since members in one steel company might approve a contract that was rejected by another.

Sadlowski rejects McBride's argument as "silly." "Today you bargain with the industry and you submit it to what's called the industry conference," he said. "what if a segment of that industry conference wants it and another one doesn't? The fact of the matter is that if you submit this same contract you negotiate to the masses, to the membership for ratification that would not destroy industry-wide bargaining. It's a greater democratic extension of what we have now."

Union democracy: "Our union has operated by delegated authority at every level," McBride says in response to charges that members are denied the right to decide on many important issues and that the leaders are out of touch. Although he agreed that the referendum vote for president of the union was the most democratic procedure, he added, "If people who are not members of the union persist in continuing to interfere and help to control the outcome of elections of the unions that do ratify by referendum, they may force a change in the procedure." He defends the elected representatives as "responsible people" capable of making deci-



Lloyd McBride

"We're not a corrupt union," McBride claims, having disavowed the ballot-stuffing and corruption of Sadlowski's previous opponent Sam Evett. "I could not agree that President Abel did them or was responsible for them or was consulted about them getting done."

sions and reflecting the desires of the members who elect them.

"We're not a corrupt union," McBride claims, having disavowed the ballot-stuffing and corruption of Sadlowski's previous opponent Sam Evett. "I could not agree that any of those things were right. I do not agree that President Abel did them or was responsible for them or was consulted about them getting done."

Sadlowski and his slate think not only that the leaders are out of touch, but also that it is not simply a personal, but a structural problem. Oliver Montgomery, a founder of the black staff caucus, a leader in the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and candidate for vice-president for human affairs, described how the Sadlowski group sees the institutional compromise of labor leaders.

► Indifference to nitty-gritty problems.

"There's a general atmosphere of real indifference to a lot of the nitty-gritty problems that concern the guy on the shop floor," Montgomery said in his deliberate, soft-spoken way about the men around Abel. "You talk about the powerlessness of the guy on the shop floor and they look at you like you're insane. He doesn't need any power. He has the grievance procedure. What else does he need? You give him the right to strike and he'll abuse it," they say.

"When certain things happen, such as some of the conferences or local officers come and ratify the ENA, and you point out that didn't go far enough, that it should have been put to the membership, you're told you're insane, that this is representative democracy, that they elected these people and that's all they need. You can't give the members this kind of right, they say. They [international representatives] thought the productivity committee was a beautiful thing. The guy in the shop would never trust management. There's complete faith [in management] at the top [of the union], and they take it out of the hides of the guys at the bottom. The productivity committees meant combining jobs, reducing crew sizes, erosion of boun-

daries of job descriptions. The problem, I think, is their identifying and seeing the problem in the same perspective as industrialists see it."

Sadlowski scoffed at McBride's criticism of corruption in the Evett campaign. "He sure as hell did nothing about it," Sadlowski said. "I'll show you the minutes of the board meeting. He also gave \$1,000 to see that Sam Evett was re-elected. He condemns that kind of corruption, but he gave his money for that second election."

Although Sadlowski favors direct referendum votes on major decisions, and at times has even suggested electing staff representatives, he sees democracy coming about less through "mechanical formulas" than through changing the spirit and power balance of the union. "Put that strength back on the shop floor," he told the South Chicago gathering. "I've advocated one grievance committeeman or steward for every boss. I guarantee that if you assign one union man to every boss, he won't be playing the kind of shenanigans he plays now."

► Dissent within union.

Sadlowski and McBride clashed strongly on dissent within the union, too. Attacking Sadlowski as a divisive force, destroying the union, McBride said, "I've gone on the concept that ... once I submit my opinion and argument to the debate of the executive board, then the decision is made. Unionism would call for all of us to leave that boardroom committed to support the policy that our debate has brought about. That has been true until the time Ed Sadlowski appeared on the scene.... In cases where he was a minority, and it was usually a minority of one, he promptly went out and called a press conference ... and said those guys are all out of step.... You go to the proper forum in the union and not the media. You go to the media and you can destroy the union."

"I know that trick," Sadlowski said curtly. "That's a fool's game, dictatorial power. You're told to air your differences

in the meeting and the vote is 25 to 1. What kind of business do you think I'm in? [McBride] never spoke at a convention. At the board meetings he speaks mimicking the line of I. W. Abel."

The campaign: The nature of the two campaigns has become one of the major issues. McBride has attacked Sadlowski as the candidate of "outsiders," including "limousine millionaires" and "Communists." In late December McBride filed charges in court against Sadlowski asking for disclosure of campaign funds and accusing Sadlowski of violating the union constitution by accepting contributions from employers. The suit named eight people, including lawyers, corporate executives and wealthy stockholders, as illegal contributors.

Sadlowski mounted a counter-offensive last week. He sued McBride for \$5 million in libel damages, charging that four of the eight alleged contributors had given him nothing. The other people, who gave up to \$500, were not "employers," Sadlowski's suit claimed. If they were, then McBride was also guilty of the same charge. The lawsuit rejected McBride's demand for disclosure, apparently backing away from a previous pledge to disclose all contributors.

McBride has relied heavily on the union apparatus in his campaign. Nearly all staff representatives support him out of some combination of conviction, familiarity, inertia or fear. Most have been asked by district directors or other union officials to contribute \$500 or more to McBride's campaign.

Sadlowski attacks this as abuse of union power. His supporters accuse the staff representatives of working for McBride on union time. Sadlowski also criticizes McBride's use of the public relations firm, Maurer, Fleischer and Zohn, which had been the union's p.r. agent until taking on the McBride campaign.

Since many top officials in other AFL-CIO unions fear Sadlowski's election, Mc-

Sadlowski and McBride compete for loyalty

Continued from page 13.

Bride has received their help. Murray Finley, president of the Clothing and Textile union, solicited funds from his executive board. Teachers union president Albert Shanker harshly attacked Sadlowski and his contributors in his *New York Times* column, paid for by the union.

Although Sadlowski points to such support from staff and other union leaders as evidence of the tight-knit bureaucracy controlling the labor movement, McBride defends the support as expression of solidarity with his candidacy by other unionists. In defense of his soliciting funds from people outside the steelworkers, many of whom are union members, Sadlowski points to the general interest people may legitimately have in an office that has an impact far beyond the union staff.

► Campaigning is expensive.

Campaigning is expensive for both men. McBride said his effort would cost over \$300,000. Sadlowski supporters don't know how much they will spend, but they have raised \$50,000 since September and are still \$87,000 in debt.

Sadlowski has denounced the red-baiting used against him as "the kind of game the bosses play. It's now tragic that we see union bosses playing the boss's game." The strongest red-baiting has been carried on under the banner of SMART, Steelworkers Mobilized Against Radical Takeover. Although McBride denies it is his work, Sadlowski claims cartoons of SMART leaflets portraying him as supported by and advocating the same things as the Communist party have been found in McBride campaign offices.

McBride justifies the tactics of linking Sadlowski to "communists" as part of the struggle for power in the union. What does he hope to accomplish with the red-baiting? "I hope that it will help to get me elected and to get him defeated," he replied. "That's all."

However, McBride admitted in his interview, "Hell, when I was getting started in the labor movement, I was called a Communist. I participated in a Mayday celebration in St. Louis while I was on strike." Also, one of his running mates, Lynn Williams, is a leader of the socialist New Democratic party of Canada.

Red-baiting still has power with some older workers, but evidence from Sad-

lowski's home district, where his opponents have relied heavily on the ploy, suggests that younger workers are not very swayed by such charges.

Health and Safety: Although McBride was hesitant to comment on the new standard accepted by the union for coke oven workers, where the incidence of cancer is three to 10 times that among other steel workers, he said they were "probably the best that could be done at this time."

Sadlowski and Montgomery, on the other hand, denounced the standards as far below Japanese and European emission levels. Management retained several escape clauses and workers who had to move from their job for health reasons were not guaranteed the same rate of pay, they charged.

McBride did argue that the current safe-

reocrat, has a broad social vision that he sees being brought about through collective bargaining and politics. "The alternative to layoffs is not Jimmy Carter and it's not Gerald Ford," he told a union crowd. "The alternative to layoffs is the distribution of wealth that the workingman creates." In Chicago, he was a strong opponent of Mayor Richard Daley, traditionally supported by the Steelworkers union. He endorsed Fred Harris, the most liberal of last year's Democratic presidential aspirants.

Both Sadlowski and McBride favor a shorter work week to increase steelworker jobs. In the very long run, however, Sadlowski says that the goal is to automate the factories and provide steelworkers with not only more leisure but also more creative work.

"McBride's approach, despite his advocacy of many progressive demands, also subordinates the union and its members to the needs, policies and power of the major corporations."

ty clauses of the contract are inadequate. "It's wrong that a person must have a loss of pay to exercise his right to refuse unsafe work," he says.

Sadlowski takes his safety program a few steps farther, proposing full-time safety committees that can shut down unsafe operations. "You don't have to strike," he said, "just shut it down, and the boss has to pay you. I guarantee that after a while of that, there won't be any unsafe jobs. The only way a boss corrects a situation is when he doesn't have the situation in a productive capacity."

Political action: McBride would keep the Steelworkers on its present course politically, working largely within the Democratic party for moderate candidates "sympathetic to the goals of labor." He would not depart from current AFL-CIO directions and campaigns hard against Sadlowski as someone who would politically turn the labor movement around. In 1972 McBride voted in favor of Steelworker neutrality in the presidential campaign, contributing to the union defection from McGovern and to Nixon's victory.

Sadlowski, as much the trade union romantic as McBride is the trade union bu-

For the last hundred years, he said, "technological advancement has far outstripped social advancement.... In order to have a socially advanced program, it has to run hand in glove with the technological advancement. Social advancement for the trade union movement is more leisure time, things like that, where you start talking about taking the man out of the workplace and put him into something where he can grow, enjoy leisure.

► Race very close.

Both sides agree that the race is probably very close at this point, but even more than that, it is very unpredictable. No past contest in the union provides a guide. The great diversity of the members—from all parts of the U.S. and Canada, from dozens of different industries, with varied and often even contradictory problems and demands—makes it tough to make a reasonable guess about the outcome.

Sadlowski is expected to do well in the large locals, especially in the steel industry. Since 600 of the 5,400 locals make up half the membership of the union, hard work by supporters in the big shops, mills and mines could make a difference. (For example, a good turnout at the Sudbury

mine in Canada, where Sadlowski won the nomination by a 10 to 1 margin, could match the rest of the Canadian vote if there's a light turnout.)

In a close race, however, the small plants may be crucial. Many of those workers have not even heard of Sadlowski, although soon every member will receive campaign literature from both candidates, mailed at union expense. The Sadlowski backers will not even receive a list of all locals and polling places until Jan. 20. It will be difficult for them to have observers in place to prevent the corruption that will be very tempting to the local officers and staff representatives, largely McBride supporters. Vote fraud is nothing new in the union. Former Steelworkers president David MacDonald recently admitted that he stole at least four elections for District 31 director Joe Germano while he was the union president.

Could Ed Sadlowski turn the union around as dramatically as he promises? Certainly he would face stiff resistance to his vision from the steel industry, the union staff, parts of the Democratic party and, in some cases, possibly from among the members of his union. At times, he has so far failed to work out fully at least in public, how he would bring about some of his proposed changes. It is clear, however that he has a solid base of support in the union. Neither the nature of unionism nor the condition of the steel industry inherently stands in his way.

Lloyd McBride represents a continuation of policies that have subordinated the members of the steelworkers union to the staff and officers, welded together into an "official family" that discourages rank and file initiative and union democracy. McBride's approach, despite his advocacy of many progressive demands, also subordinates the union and its members to the needs, policies and power of the major corporations.

Sadlowski's approach represents an inversion of both of those relationships and offers hope for a more democratic, more militant unionism to the 1.3 million Steelworker members. The little gestures he makes of asking steelworkers not to stand up for him but for him to stand up for them are harbingers of a potentially much more serious reversal of the conservative direction, not only of the Steelworkers, but also of the labor movement as a whole.

Puerto Rico—state or not

Continued from page 3.

sion, Hernandez Colon's attempts to cope with the crisis by implementing wage freezes and tax hikes hurt his efforts for re-election. Political observers of all ilk agree that Romero's victory was more the result of a protest vote against Hernandez Colon than an endorsement of Romero. "The people had no other alternative but to vote for Romero," said Baiges Chapel, whose party garnered less than one percent of the vote.

► Lack of support for independence disputed.

The poor electoral showing of the two independence parties—the moderate democratic socialist Puerto Rican Independence Party (PRIP) received slightly more than five percent of the votes cast—should not hamper the efforts of independence advocates at the U.N. say Baiges Chapel and PRIP president Ruben Berrios.

"The U.N. knows what colonial elections are and knows what they mean," said Berrios. "All the countries in the U.N. that were colonies before have had the experience of low electoral showings only to win independence years later.

Baiges Chapel described Algeria as a case in point. In that country, he said, in

a referendum held only a few years before independence was won, 90 percent of the population voted in favor of the country remaining an overseas province of France. "Three years later, Algeria was independent," Baiges Chapel said.

"These countries [former colonies] are conscious of how elections are carried out and manipulated in a colony through the education system and the mass media," he added.

Meanwhile, in a copyrighted story, the English language daily the *San Juan Star*, reported a survey conducted by the Gallup organization in the U.S. mainland found that 59 percent of the persons polled favored statehood for Puerto Rico. The poll was made two weeks before Ford's announcement.

The question, however, is what the people of Puerto Rico think. In the last status plebiscite held in 1967, 60.5 percent voted in favor of commonwealth and 38.9 percent for statehood. Independence received only .6 percent. Although independence leaders had urged a boycott of the referendum, 65 percent of eligible votes cast their ballots.

Corrada del Rio said because of the publicity resulting from Ford's statehood proposal it was "a possibility" that the Romero administration might now deal with the status question earlier than anticipated.

Despite Romero's campaign promise, it looks like status will be an issue after all.

Ronnie Lovler is a reporter for the *San Juan Star*.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

Part II

War on crime stays on the streets

By Elliot Currie

Two years ago a wealthy drug manufacturer named Valdemar Madis pleaded guilty to federal charges that he and his company, Madis Laboratories, had knowingly diluted a widely-used preparation, ipecac, which induces vomiting in poison victims. Ipecac is the most common emergency treatment for poisoning cases in the U.S., most of which are small children. Madis' company watered their ipecac with ephedrine, a compound often used in cold remedies. Unlike most corporate criminals, Madis was convicted and sentenced—to a year's probation and a \$10,000 fine.

Madis' case is a horrendous, but not an unusual expression of the workings of a system of criminal justice designed more to enforce existing patterns of privilege than to protect people from injury.

In the mid-1960s, spurred by rising crime rates, urban disorders and the political potential of the issue of "crime in the streets," President Lyndon Johnson inaugurated a "war on crime." Since then, that war has rapidly escalated, and like all wars, has taken an enormous toll in ruined lives and wasted resources. Criminal justice, one of the fastest-growing parts of the public sector, cost the American public about \$15 billion in 1974, up 42 percent since 1971. This massive infusion of resources has given us one of the most extensive, and frightening systems of repression in the world. But there is no evidence that it has reduced the risks of crime.

To begin with, the attack was directed from the start at some crimes and not others. Its main battles have, not surprisingly, been against street crime, while the response to corporate crime has never been more than a minor skirmish. Indeed, during the Nixon-Ford years the corporations' freedom to pollute the air and water, poison the workplace, and evade taxes has been systematically expanded. The Environmental Protection Agency last year extended industry compliance dates for water quality standards and last month rolled back air pollution guidelines in the face of mounting evidence that polluted air is a major source of serious illness and early death for the poor.

►Corporate crime treated lightly.

Traditionally, penalties for corporate crime have been gently designed and even more gently enforced. The most serious criminal penalty under Federal Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA) regulations for killing workers through "willful and repeated" violations of health and safety laws is six months in jail and a \$10,000 fine.

Recently, as businesses' own losses have mounted, the corporations and the Justice department have taken a new interest in white-collar crime. As Commerce Secretary Roger Morton put it in announcing a seminar on "Crimes Against Business" in San Francisco this year, "Cutting crime losses should receive the same kind of constant aggressive attention devoted to cutting labor costs, facility costs and any other costs that sap profits." The Justice department has inaugurated a task force to come up with "new initiatives" against white-collar crime. But the focus is on crimes against business—embezzlement, computer theft, credit-card frauds, employee thefts—rather than crimes by business, like tax evasion, price fixing and political bribery.

But if the war on crime has carefully steered clear of the corporations, it has been carried out with increasing ferocity against street criminals. There are more people in prison today than ever before in American history—close to 250,000,



Crime Report

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not counting the roughly 150,000 in local jails. It's estimated that at current rates there will be over 100,000 more by 1984. Recent studies by the Federal Bureau of Prisons and by *Corrections* magazine point out two sources for the rise in prison populations, which reverses a trend toward fewer inmates in the 1960s.—longer sentences for convicted criminals and rising unemployment rates.

►Rising prison population reflects hard times.

The composition of the prison and jail population reflects the social and economic crisis of the 1970s with dreary predictability. In 1974, about a third of state prison inmates were unemployed the month before their arrest; two-fifths of jail inmates were similarly unemployed in 1972. Two-thirds of jail inmates and three-fifths of state prisoners had less than a high-school education. Nearly half of jail inmates had earned less than \$2,000 a year on the outside in 1972; state prison inmates in 1974 had an average yearly income of about \$4,600. Blacks, about 11 percent of the population, are about 42 percent of the jail population and 47 percent of the prison population. Translated into rates of imprisonment, this means that blacks are roughly six times as likely to go to prison as whites.

The criminal justice system increasingly serves as a warehouse for the unemployed and subemployed, but this function has not helped to protect people from being hurt by street crime. The rise in rates of serious street crime neatly parallels the rise in criminal justice spending.

Expenditures on the police jumped eight-fold between 1964 and 1974; the police in 1974 accounted for 57 percent of all criminal justice spending across the country. Rising spending has led to

an extraordinary militarization of local police forces, based on sophisticated technology largely borrowed from the nation's other recent war in Southeast Asia. A sizable "police-industrial complex" has emerged, led by giant electronics corporations like Motorola and Sylvania, who dominate a half-billion dollar market for communications systems. The repressive potential of this has been apparent for some time; what's less obvious is that there is no evidence to show that it has had the slightest effect on crime. On the contrary, there is growing evidence that the police are essentially irrelevant as a force for public safety.

►Police don't affect crime rate.

In an experiment by the Ford-Foundation sponsored Police Foundation, three Kansas City police districts were provided with widely different levels of police control. The intensity of patrol was increased drastically in one district; kept at previous levels in the second; and regular patrol was abandoned in the third, with patrol cars sent in only in response to specific complaints. The result? The foundation uncovered no significant differences in crime rates or in people's fear of crime between the three districts. Similarly, statistical surveys have found no consistent relation between the level of police expenditures in a city and its crime rates. And when New York's fiscal crisis intensified last year, forcing temporary layoffs of 3,000 police officers in July, reported crime against persons not only failed to rise, as police officials had warned, but actually declined significantly.

The past decade has also been a time of intensive innovation in the "treatment" of convicted criminals, with the

growth of programs like group therapy and "community treatment" of offenders. But an exhaustive analysis of hundreds of studies of "rehabilitation" programs by CUNY sociologist Robert Martinson failed to turn up convincing evidence that any of them had a consistent effect on the chances of an offender's going back to prison. Noting that treatment programs inside the prisons often increased a prisoner's chances of committing further crimes, Martinson was forced to conclude that "outside" programs like community treatment were a lesser evil, simply because there was less evidence that they made prisoners worse.

►Federal government's role.

The most conspicuous innovation in the war on crime has been the escalation of the federal government's role in criminal justice, mainly through the Justice department's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). Created by the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, LEAA had soaked up close to \$4.5 billion in federal revenues by 1975, of which the biggest slice has gone to beef up local police forces. In its early years, LEAA showed a taste for funding paramilitary hardware for the police, including helicopters, intensive riot-control training, and an armored personnel carrier for the Louisiana State Police. More recently, partly because local police forces have now absorbed more military hardware than they are likely to be able to use, LEAA's priorities have shifted toward high-technology police communication and information systems. From the start LEAA has been attacked from all points on the political spectrum as wasteful and inept. Both the corporate-sponsored Committee for Economic Development and the liberal Center for National Security Studies have urged scrapping LEAA altogether. And in the last few years, LEAA administrators themselves have increasingly admitted that, as research director Gerald Caplan puts it, "we have learned little about reducing the incidence of crime, and have no reason to believe that significant reductions will be secured in the near future."

As prime example of the failure of LEAA's approach is the debacle of its \$160 million "High Impact Program," which gave \$20 million to each of eight cities to develop ways to reduce serious crimes by 20 percent in five years. Most of the cities spent the largest part of their funds on the police, for such things as creating special "anti-crime" tactical squads (Atlanta's included a stake-out team responsible for killing 12 robbery suspects in two years) and expanding helicopter surveillance programs (Atlanta added four helicopters to its force). The result of this mammoth effort was that crime rates were higher after the program than before in all but one city. In some cities the increase was dramatic, as in Portland, Ore., where the burglary rate doubled in the course of the program. After a thorough evaluation of the results, the independent Center for National Security Studies concluded that the high impact project "can only be described as ridiculous."

Continual failures like these have led even apologists like former Attorney-General William Saxbe to lament that "we have lost the initiative in the war on crime." But the defeat was inevitable; it was the wrong war, fought by the wrong troops for the wrong reasons, against the wrong enemies.

Elliot Currie has taught criminology at the University of California at Berkeley and at Yale University, and is a member of the East Bay chapter of the New American Movement.

D.C. antiwar center closes doors

By Jeffrey Stein

It was once described in a congressional hearing as "the most effective propaganda pressure group the world has ever known." Last month, it closed its doors in a small northwest Washington office building.

For Gareth Porter and his colleagues in the Washington branch of the Indochina Resource Center, the war was finally over. After six years as a spearpoint in the antiwar movement, they were moving on to other jobs and issues. An affiliate office will remain open in Berkeley.

Since 1970 the small office off Dupont Circle had been a gathering ground for antiwar intellectual activists. The second and third floors of the building sheltered a web of groups that included Project Air War, the Indochina Mobile Education Project, the Indochina Education Project, and the Coalition to Stop Funding the War.

Turning out reams of pamphlets, leaflets and books, IRC staffers ate up a budget of about \$75,000 a year, although most of them usually had to bum 50 cents for a draft beer at the nearby Dupont Grille.

At a farewell reception, co-director Porter told a crowd of activists, writers, congressional aides and old friends, "This is not a wake, but a celebration."

That was clearly the mood.

After two hours of miling around the traditional activist banquet of white and red wine, sliced french bread, and plates of cheese and salami set up in the offices, the crowd of some 75 well-wishers was treated to a skit burlesquing the appearance last spring of the U.S.'s last ambassador to Saigon Graham Martin before a congressional committee, during which he said that the Indochina Resource Center had almost singlehandedly caused the American collapse in South Vietnam.

Porter said in an interview that he had "mixed feelings" about Martin's assessment.

"It's good to know that we drove Graham Martin to near insanity as he viewed the political process in the United States and that we caused him all manner of grief," Porter said quietly. "And we do feel proud that we did play an active role and helped in some way to bring the war to an end."

"On the other hand, we don't agree that the Indochina Resource Center, somehow all by itself, through its links to Congress, was the reason Congress cut aid to the Thieu regime and the U.S. was forced to leave Vietnam." The major credit for that, Porter said, should go to the Vietnamese.

Rep. Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.), who challenged Richard Nixon for the Republican presidential nomination in 1968 on the issue of the war, agreed.

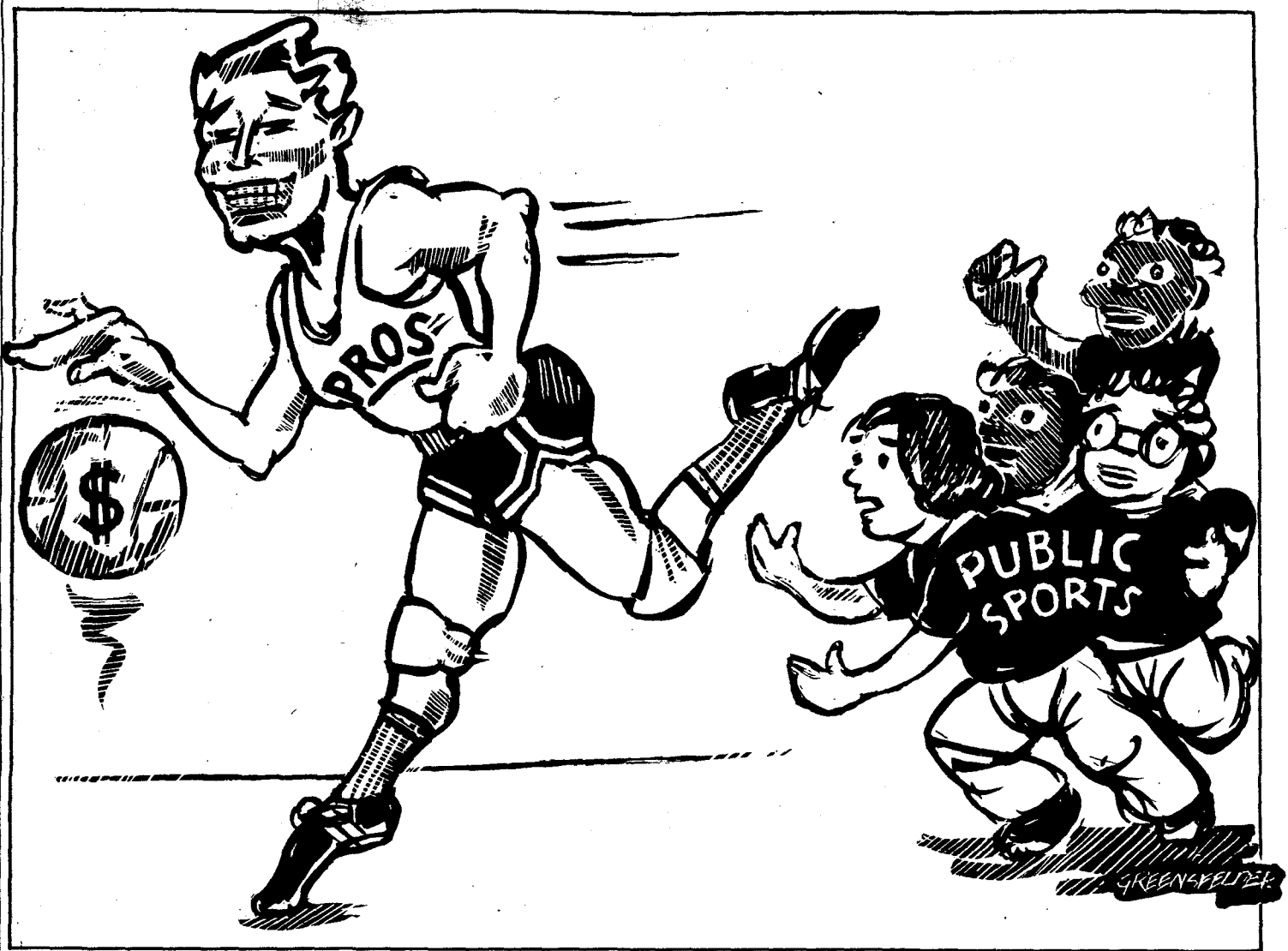
"The Indochina Resource Center is due a great deal of credit," McCloskey said in a telephone conversation. "What they did well was to research the issues. They were always prepared and their views were always grounded in fact."

McCloskey pointed out that he would never have known what the U.S. was up to in Laos if it hadn't been for briefings given him by Fred Branfman, who took the congressman to Lao villages for on-the-spot investigations without a CIA case officer hanging over their shoulders.

Branfman, along with Vietnam historian David Marr and China scholar/activist Chris Jenkins was one of IRC's early founders.

McCloskey dismissed the contention that members of the IRC acted as agents of Hanoi. "That analysis grows from Mr. Martin's peculiar view of the United States Constitution," McCloskey said.

Jeffrey Stein is an investigative reporter in Washington.



Making it to the pros: a fading dream

Money dominates American sports as never before.

By Jack Russell

Detroit Piston guard Eric Money darts to the top of the key, pops his jumper, and scores. The Cobo Hall crowd explodes for the hometown kid while high above centercourt the scoreboard gondola flashes huge golden letters: MONEY. The moment is an accident of talent and a surname, but it fixes a truth of the times. Money dominates American sport as never before.

Money, and the lack of money. Like six other N.B.A. players, Eric Money is a graduate of the Detroit Public School League. They could be the last. This spring or next fall Detroit may become the first major city to cancel all interscholastic sports. A decaying tax base and inflation have wrecked the school budget. General anger over the tax burden and white hostility to the city's busing program have brought a series of funding defeats and fiscal crisis for the school system.

Save for some largess from the private sector, all sports would have been axed already. Last fall \$150,000 from Bank of the Commonwealth floated the football program. This winter a Grosse Pointe businessman has come forth with \$50,000 from his family foundation to save P.S.L. basketball. They are investing in social peace.

On a few nights last summer black youth gangs terrorized downtown Detroit. The basketball benefactor happens to own a piece of the Pistons, who play downtown. "It may even help," he said, "just to have them inside competing in athletics instead of being outside getting into things that are maybe less positive."

►Closing out the chance to "make it."

The banks and sports entrepreneurs who value safe streets and good publicity will not underwrite P.S.L. sports indefinitely. Unless the school board finds new funds the league will die. The annual flow of one million dollars in college scholarships to Detroit athletes will dry up. Most of the basketball players who used their court skills for a crack at college won't make the trip. The city game will continue, of course, in rec centers, playgrounds, Ys and parking lots. Folks will play for joy in the art and a neighborhood rep, but with less hope that some



moves and a shot are a ticket to ride.

As any teenager with talent knows, the odds are against making it, even when you're not locked out of the school gym. In 1975, 200,000 high school seniors played men's basketball. Only 5,300 seniors played college ball. The pros drafted 211 and eventually signed 55 of them. Maybe half will stick. But city kids still hustle the long shot and are hustled in turn. Most will fail, but every few years, at the top of the track, one Dr. J. cashes in for two or three million.

Where do those dollars come from?

While some professional sport franchises are owned by men worth hundreds of millions who operate them as tax shelters, most are run to make money. Winning teams and big name stars pack the house. The most gifted players are a valuable raw material to be purchased at the market price, processed, packaged and sold to us.

Thus Reggie Jackson, resplendent in furs, signs for three million of Yankee owner George Steinbrenner's bucks so that next year the crowds will be still larger at Yankee Stadium (rebuilt, incidentally, at public expense, even while Steinbrenner was on probation for illegal contributions to Nixon's 1972 campaign).

Despite the coming of baseball's free agent era, only a few major leaguers will score on a scale with Jackson. The same day Reggie signed, Detroit Tiger utility infielder Jerry Manuel punched the time clock at a downriver Ford plant where he pulls \$6.86 an hour this winter because he needs the bread.

►In the end, we pay.

Things are tough all over. Ticket prices have risen steadily while most owners claim they'd be in the red without television revenues. Broadcast rights for the Superbowl go for nearly \$3 million. The tag for the 1980 Moscow Olympics may reach \$100 million. ABC, NBC and CBS are all willing to pay these prices because sports draw us to the screen in larger numbers than the schlock they regularly pro-

gram. Superbowl X and the last game of the 1975 World Series both reached more than 70 million, two of the biggest television audiences in history. Ratings mean dollars. A one minute game-time spot on SuperSunday costs the sponsor \$200,000.

In the end, of course, it's you and I who pay the bill: through tickets, through taxes for arenas and stadiums and through the advertising costs carried in the price of all the goods shilled on TV.

What is it we buy? Why does sport have such mass appeal?

Sports are not just bones thrown to sate the animals in the pit. There is beauty in the games, tension and the resolution of tension. When Abdul-Jabbar drops a sky hook or Jack Lambert shivers a full-back, we roar for the score and the good hit, but our sense of form is also pleased, our belief in courage engaged. Sport, even the torpid viewing of sport, is a realm of play rescued and defended from the deadening world of work. Its transcendent moments possess us as art. Watching Soviet gymnast Nellie Kim in the midst of a perfect floor exercise or Cuba's Alberto Juantorena exploding around the final turn to a world record victory in the 800 meters, we witness the frontiers of grace and will.

But whatever value we take from sport watching, we remain passive before the spectacle. It is vicarious experience. Frustrated by the disappointments and tensions of daily life in modern America, millions of us turn to the theater of sport for some representation of struggle and victory, some surrogate for the community we cannot achieve.

Sport was born in ritual and the powers of the rite are magnified a thousand fold in the age of circuitry. In the wide world of sport we do, indeed, experience the thrill of victory and the agony of defeat, but only as an audience which has paid the price of admission.

The capacity crowd which cheered with one voice for Eric Money paid \$63,398.50 for the sacrament. But at game's end we became once again individual citizens of a city which could not spend as much to insure some of its youth a season of sport.

Jack Russell lives in Detroit and writes regularly on sports for In These Times.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

BOOKS

Birth control's past unveiled

WOMAN'S BODY, WOMAN'S RIGHT: A Social History of Birth Control

By Linda Gordon

Grossman Publishers, N.Y. 1976, \$12.50

The power to define what is and what isn't an academic subject is one of the intellectual academy's greatest powers. If it was the function of the feminism of the 1960s to establish the experience of women in the present, it is the function of the feminist scholars of the 1970s to give the present a past because it is only by rendering a subject historical that it can be grasped as capable of change.

The task is academic and political at the same time, and it is on both levels that Marxist historian Linda Gordon has chosen to accept it.

Woman's Body, Woman's Right gives birth control its past—a past significantly different from a conventional modern understanding. Contrary to what most of us have been miseducated to think, birth control is not

modern, but ancient, and its use is not only causal, but a result of other, largely economic changes in relations between the sexes.

Although there is a great deal of important material on a number of topics in this book, the heart of it lies in the application of these fundamental ideas to the movement for what the author calls "reproductive freedom" in 19th and 20th century America.

The history is difficult to summarize adequately, but, briefly, Gordon sees it as passing through three distinct stages. The first, beginning around 1870, was an outgrowth of the 19th century feminist movement. Its slogan was "voluntary motherhood," and the technique it advocated for regulating pregnancy was sexual abstinence in a family setting.

The second phase, lasting from approximately 1910 to 1920, was a radical one, which arose among feminists within the socialist movement and addressed itself not only to birth control, but to social revolution.

The third stage involved the deradicalization of the second, a process that began in the 1920s and culminated in the 1940s with the acceptance and institutionalization of medically controlled, professionally run birth control clinics, chiefly under the auspices of Planned Parenthood.

The originality of *Woman's Body, Woman's Right* lies equally in the historical material it has brought to the surface and in the analysis it provides. The historian of so understudied a human phenomenon as birth control has neither the interpretive nor the factual foundation that is available to the historian of a great many lesser topics.

Gordon herself is clear that what she has accomplished is only the beginning of rendering birth control historical. It is a complex and a subtle beginning, and it is an important achievement.

—Elinor Langer

Elinor Langer is a writer currently living in Oregon and working on a biography of Josephine Herbst.



Linda Gordon, author of *Woman's Body, Woman's Right*.

Fact and fiction: two books on imperialism and Southern Africa

Secret Africa study

THE KISSINGER STUDY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA: National Security Study Memorandum 39 (Secret)

Edited and introduced by Mohamed A. El-Khawass and Barry Cohen
Lawrence Hill, Westport (paperback \$3.95)

Since it may be reasonably assumed that U.S. policy in southern Africa is up for review by the Carter administration, it is timely to get a look at the secret calculations behind the Nixon-Ford operations in that region.

Such an opportunity is provided by publication of the still officially secret National Security Study Memorandum 39, produced by the National Security Council Interdepartmental (Defense, State, CIA) Group at the behest of Henry Kissinger shortly after he and Richard Nixon moved into the White House.

The memorandum is that blend of knavery and folly to which we have become accustomed after the Pentagon Papers, the Nixon tapes and other glimpses into the classified lives of those who claim the moral leadership of the "free world."

First, the knavery.

There is a relatively forthright listing of tangible American interests in the region: investments, profits, trade, gold, uranium, military and space installations, domination of the Atlantic-Indian Ocean passage. The memorandum is more devious in discussing the American political interests. "Racial repression by white minority regimes" is acknowledged, but this is not the problem. What is troublesome is the global reaction to the repression. "Politically conscious blacks elsewhere" and "many others in the non-white world" tend to identify with the oppressed black majorities and to see friendly relationships of outside powers with the repressive regimes "as at least a tacit acceptance of racism." To make

matters worse "the communist states ... support black aspirations."

Johnson administration policy, according to Memorandum 39, had tried "to balance our economic, scientific and strategic interests in the white states with the political interest of dissociating the U.S. from the white minority regimes and their repressive racial policies." This tricky balancing act was not easy and was likely to get harder.

"If violence in the area escalates," the memorandum says, referring to the rising tide of black resistance and movements for liberation, "the U.S. would find it increasingly difficult without sacrificing interests to find a middle ground in the UN...and to resist demands for more positive actions against the white regimes."

The dilemma, thus, was finding the semblance of a "middle ground" in the irreconcilable struggle between oppressed and oppressors. So much for the knavery.

The folly lies in the estimations of the contending forces. In the memo, written in 1969, the prognosis for Angola and Mozambique was "continued stalemate: the rebels cannot oust the Portuguese and the Portuguese can contain but not eliminate the rebels." One cannot fault Kissinger's experts for not predicting the Portuguese revolution, but a certain chauvinist prejudice pervades their document, epitomized in contrasting references to the repressive white regimes ("tough, determined and increasingly self-confident") and the black liberation movements ("there are reasons to question the depth and permanence of black resolve").

U.S. policy, which from 1969 to early 1976 followed one of five options outlined in the memorandum, flowed from this analysis.

It was the consummate exercise of duplicity: "maintain public opposition to racial repression but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on the white states;" encourage a change in white attitudes by indicating "our willingness to accept political arrangements short of guaranteed progress toward majority rule." "Operational examples" are replete with public positions supporting UN sanctions against the racist regimes and covert actions to succor them (e.g., "enforce arms embargo against South Africa but with liberal treatment of equipment which could serve either military or civilian purposes").

This path was finally done in by the armed liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique. There no longer was a "middle ground" to be occupied between Portuguese colonialists and their colonial subjects; the changed balance of forces in the region rendered the racist regime in Rhodesia increasingly untenable.

In the language of military communiques, the time had come for a retreat to consolidate positions. The positions for protecting U.S. "interests" were to be consolidated in South Africa, while rearguard diplomatic manipulations were conducted in Rhodesia. This new tactic and its relationship to the prior policy are competently analyzed by El-Khawass and Cohen in their introduction to Memorandum 39.

Solidarity with black aspirations in southern Africa will be better informed with a knowledge of *The Kissinger Study of Southern Africa*.

—Al Richmond

Al Richmond was for many years editor of the *Daily People's World*. His political autobiography, *A Long View from the Left*, was published by Houghton, Mifflin, and more recently in paperback by Dell, 1975.

Novel on killers



Gilles Tippet, author of *The Mercenaries*.

THE MERCENARIES

By Gilles Tippet

Delacorte Press, N.Y. 1976, \$8.95

The Mercenaries is a novel about the new soldier of fortune—the white mercenary fighting in southern Africa on the side of white minority governments.

It is easy to read, full of colorful soldierly swear words and authentic details of life in Johannesburg and the farms of Northern Rhodesia. But the book's impact is its confirmation of the widely-held belief of (white) Rhodesians that Americans will soon be fighting on their side.

The story opens in Johannesburg, where a multi-national group of mercenaries is being readied for an operation under the direction of Jerome Weston, a paraplegic British-Rhodesian, reminiscent of "Ironsides," except that he is operating outside the law. His objective is to destroy a black Rhodesian (Zimbabwean) freedom fighters' base, situated inside the borders of Zambia.

Absolute secrecy both before

and after the raid is essential. There is already heavy UN pressure and the possibility of sanctions. Exposure of a Rhodesian-directed invasion of the territory of another African state would create more problems than the mission will solve. So no clues are to be left behind, not even the identity of the fallen mercenaries—none of whom know where they are going nor what they are to do.

High altitude photographs of the target have been secured through a friendly non-African government. The leaders of the operation are two Americans: an ex-Marine colonel and an ex-Air Force pilot, Maj. Cody. (Cody takes over when the colonel is knifed by one of his own men.) The sophistication of the planning, the efficiency of the executives, the ruthlessness of the killing—all bear the hallmark of the U.S.

The author puts it more obliquely: "When all else failed, then you wanted the cold, efficient killers who could come in and do a job and go away, leaving none of the residue of men who fight for a cause." The pay which replaces a cause is fabulous: for the ill-fated colonel, \$50,000 deposited in a Swiss bank, and a bonus of \$100,000 for the successful completion of the mission. Enough to attract any ex-Vietnam professional soldier to the southern African theater."

Will the solution of the Rhodesian question, when it comes, put an end to the use of white mercenaries in Africa? Probably not. For as Weston says, "We are all traders." And "trade"—whether in horses or weapons or terror—will continue in Africa for some time to come.

—Chris C. Mojekwu

Chris Mojekwu is chief instructor in African Studies at Lake Forest College.

FILMS

Rocky: with dignity a loser makes it

ROCKY

Directed by John Avildsen; screenplay by Sylvester Stallone
With Sylvester Stallone, Talia Shire, Burt Young, and Burgess Meredith

Everybody's talking about Sylvester Stallone. His rags to riches hit *Rocky* has audiences cheering. His already legendary American success story is as captivating as the movie itself. Stallone boasts that he wrote the screenplay in 3½ days and convinced United Artists that they needed the script with him in the title role. Director John Avildsen (*Save the Tiger*) was interested enough to work for half his usual—plus a percentage. Billed as a gamble all the way, it has surely paid off.

Even if the bravado is a hype, it works. *Rocky* makes it. The action is fast and clean, with little dialogue, bloody where it needs to be but without gratuitous violence. It is consistently intelligent, engagingly comic, and startlingly dignified.

Stallone's Rocky is a compelling portrait of a 30-year-old punk who has never really made it as a fighter or anything else. As the camera follows him through his world of the streets and the docks, he is revealed as a rather sympathetic thug in the pay of a small time racketeer.

Rocky has almost nothing going for him. He doesn't have a family or even a group of male buddies, like Robert De Niro, the wacky hood of *Mean Streets*. He is essentially a loner in a marginal community of losers and hangers-on. What makes him sympathetic is that he takes care of "his own."

Rocky falls in love with Adrian, a painfully shy woman, whose life as housekeeper for her insulting brother is as grim and deadened as his. Both are set up to be losers. On their first awkward date, Rocky says: "My father told me, you haven't got much brains so you'd better develop your body." Adrian answers: "My mother said, you haven't got much of a body so you'd better develop your brain." They are both touchingly, humorously real.

The reviewers who discuss the camera's erotic love for Stallone's muscular body and the way Adrian is captivated by his "archetypal male presence" really miss the point. Rocky is a hulk, a fighting machine—if anything he's anti-erotic. There is nothing glamorous about him or Adrian, and romance doesn't magically transform their lives. His affection convinces her she's not inevitably a loser; she is the human presence that keeps him from feeling he is only a savage animal.

Rocky gets his Big Chance—which is what the movie is all about—in the only possible, up-

from-the-bottom scenario left for someone like him: a chance to make it in the ring. In a marvelous parody of bicentennial sentiment and spectacle, Apollo Creed, the black heavyweight champion, thumbs through a catalog of fighters looking for an unknown white to give a crack at the title. He picks Rocky Balboa, "The Italian Stallion," and makes him "a contender."

Rocky accepts the challenge as his life's turning point. He tells Adrian, "If I can just go the distance, I'll know I weren't just another bum from the neighborhood." He begins to train in dead earnest: gets up at 5 a.m., cracks six eggs into a glass, and gulps them down, runs for miles through the early morning streets.

The camera concentrates on his bulky figure, dwarfed by the massiveness of the city around him. The physical world becomes a metaphor for the social machinery he's up against. And he has nothing to pit against it except his bodily strength.

In the end it is Rocky's bulk and superhuman stamina, rather than skill that keeps him hanging in—nose broken, face battered, but still on his feet—for "the full distance."

What Stallone had in mind was an end that affirmed human dignity. ("If a downbeat ending is what you're looking for," he says, "why not get yourself a job in a funeral parlor.") He "wanted to find a representative of the common man, who goes home and makes his one plea in life that he receive a degree of respectability in the community."

On these terms, Rocky makes it and so does Sylvester "Rocky" Stallone.

—Carol Becker and Michael Kreisberg



Voyage: stars obscure tragedy

The ship probably should have stood in drydock.

VOYAGE OF THE DAMNED

Directed by Stuart Rosenberg
Starring Faye Dunaway, Max Von Sydow, Oskar Werner, Malcolm McDowell, Orson Welles, James Mason, Lee Grant, Katherine Ross and Ben Gazzara. Also featuring Luther Adler, Wendy Hiller, Julie Harris, Maria Schell, Sam Wanamaker, and Lynne Frederick.

Produced by Robert Fryer, distributed by Avco-Embassy

The Voyage of the Damned is a film about German-Jewish refugees adrift in limbo—quite literally caught between the devil and the deep blue sea.

Historically true, the film takes place in 1939, when Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels constructed a demonic plan for a boatload of 937 Jewish refugees to leave Germany for Batista's Cuba, knowing that they would be refused entry when they arrived. It was intended to be an anguished epic about helpless victims caught in the coils of anti-Semitism, power politics, and simple corruption.

The trouble with the film is that the tragedy of the refugees' predicament gets buried in the star-jammed production values

or diluted by Stuart Rosenberg's direction that resembles slick, still photography. There are almost too many stellar names with recognizable faces, each doing a short but flashy turn: Oskar Werner, as a cynical, "assimilated" doctor; Faye Dunaway as his high-booted, sensual wife; Lee Grant as the warm and noble wife of a depressed and angry lawyer (Sam Wanamaker); their teenage daughter (Lynne Frederick), who has a suicidal romance with the decent German steward (Malcolm McDowell.) Plus James Mason, Orson Welles, Luther Adler, Wendy Hiller, etc., etc., etc.

The film's ideological conflict is a simplistic one between the good ship's captain (Max Von Sydow), who is concerned for his passengers' welfare, and the evil Nazi agent (Helmut Griem) who stalks the ship with an icy, murderous smile.

Politically, there is a little more substance—but not much. "The Voyage of the Damned" does at least put to rest the myth that the U.S. provided a haven for Jews fleeing Hitler. There is a memorable scene in which the

refugee ship is ordered out of American waters by a Coast Guard destroyer. And there are references to F.D.R.'s fear of the political consequences of allowing large numbers of Jews to enter the U.S.

But the villain of the piece turns out to be Fulgencia Batista, the dictator later ousted by Castro. (There are good and bad Cubans in this film.) The role of the British in blocking Jewish emigration to Palestine is never mentioned. And needless to say, international capitalism's back-door support of Hitler is not on the cargo list.

The subject matter will elicit sympathetic responses from most audiences, but *The Voyage of the Damned* never comes close to the individual and collective pain of the refugees. It emerges as an overstuffed, static film, filled with noble ambitions, but lacking in insight and out of touch with reality.

The ship probably should have stood in drydock.

—Al Auster and Leonard Quart

Al Auster and Leonard Quart are freelance writers living in the New York area.

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ABC TV airs *Roots* in eight-part series

ROOTS
By Alex Haley
Doubleday, 1975, \$12.50
Adapted for television by William Blinn, Ernest Kinoy, James Lee and M. Charles Cohen
Directed by David Greene, John Erman, Gilbert Moses and Marvin Chomsky
Produced for David L. Wolper Productions by Stan Margulies

The saga of seven generations of a black family in racist America provides the material for an unprecedented experiment in network programming. *Roots* has been dramatized in eight episodes—one and two hours in length—to be aired over ABC outlets in prime time on eight consecutive nights beginning Jan. 23, 1977.

Alex Haley's 600 page novel, which has been at the top of the best-seller lists for months, is an excellent choice for ABC's "Novel for Television" format. It deals with Haley's own family's history, but the story stands for that of thousands of black Americans whose origins have been lost and whose histories have been obscured.

The protagonist of the first four episodes is Kunta Kinte, a Mandinka tribesman from Gambia (West Africa) who is captured and brought to America in 1767, before the Declaration of Independence.

He is a compellingly attractive young man (played by a talented newcomer, LeVar Barton), who has learned to read and write Arabic and memorized the whole of the Koran by the time he is 16. Kinte also knows how to farm and to herd sheep and to carve wood. It is on an expedition into the forest to find the wood for a drum that he is caught by slavers and started on his journey into bondage.

Kinte resists from the beginning. Having survived the suf-

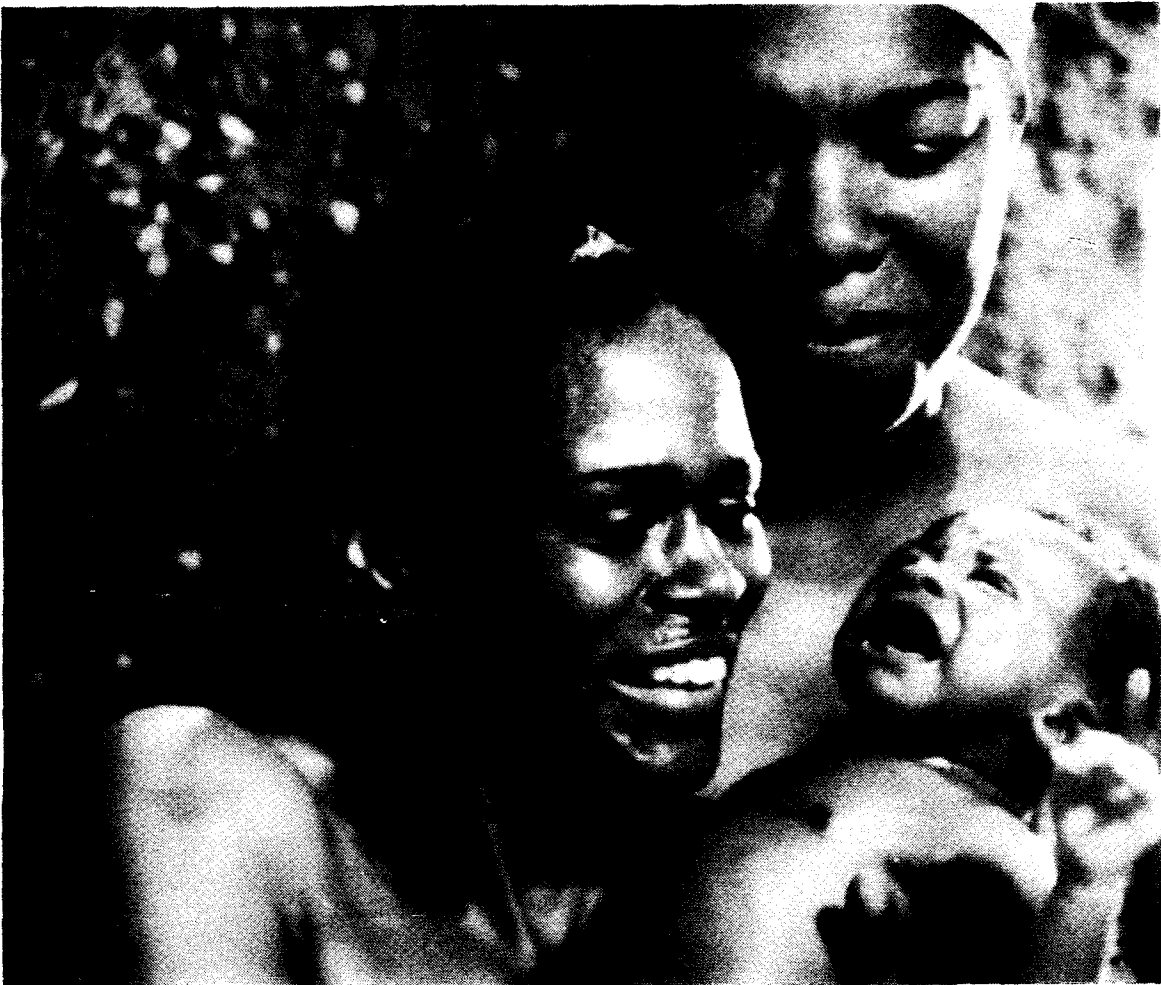
fering, sickness and dehumanization of the voyage to the New World, he is sold to a Virginia gentleman from whom he runs away four times. He is punished for the last escape by having his right foot chopped off, and is sold to a new owner.

A slave woman, Bell, nurses him back to health. Eventually, Kinte and Bell are permitted to marry. The birth of their daughter, Kizzy, leads Kinte to pass up his last chance at escape. A new level of struggle begins as Kizzy fights to maintain a family under the brutal conditions of 19th century plantation life.

Through the stories of Kinte, Kizzy and their descendants Haley depicts a whole culture of resistance. We learn of cooks who poison their masters; free blacks who buy their relatives; men and women who learn to read—a dangerously subversive activity for slaves in the American South. The strength of Haley's book is the sense of sustained resistance on many levels besides the sporadic slave revolts recorded in history books. *Roots* shows enslaved people resisting the outrageous conditions imposed upon them by the system without underestimating the efficient repression built into the system.

Haley's analysis of the history he relates is ambivalent. At one point he describes his emotional reaction to "history's incredible atrocities against fellowmen, which seems to be mankind's greatest flaw." Later, doing his research into the slave trade of the 1760s, he becomes aware that it is not "mankind's greatest flaw" that has caused the atrocity of racism, but the "profit motive."

Leafing through old English maritime records (procured, ironically, with the help of Lloyd's of London which insured such



ventures) Haley found that "...a rage grew within me the more I perceived to what degree the slave trade, in its time, was regarded by most of its participants simply as another major industry, rather like the buying, selling and shipment of livestock today."

Unfortunately, Haley does not follow up the perception that American racism is intimately related to American capitalism. The novel ends as the story of an exceptional black family that makes it within the system. (Haley's grandfather made money in the lumber business and became the first black capitalist in Tennessee.)

None of the major problems involving racism in contemporary America is touched upon in the novel. There is no mention of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, of the murder of black activists or the struggles around school integration. It is almost as if racism had ceased to exist once Emancipation was proclaimed.

The television version, which ends in the bitter aftermath of the Civil War, may avoid some of the weaknesses that mar the ending of the novel. Certainly no expense has been spared to bring the best parts of *Roots* to dramatic life. The budget went over \$6 million. A battery of writers

and directors are credited, and the cast list reads like a Who's Who of black actors.

Cicely Tyson plays Kinte's mother. O.J. Simpson and Maya Angelou have important roles in the first (African) episode. Leslie Uggams plays Kizzy. There are such motion picture and TV veterans as Louis Gossett Jr., George Stanford Brown, and Ben Vereen. And a white cast that includes Sandy Duncan, Burl Ives, Lloyd Bridges, George Hamilton, and Chuck Connors.

—Alice Allgaier

Alice Allgaier teaches in a black community college in Chicago.

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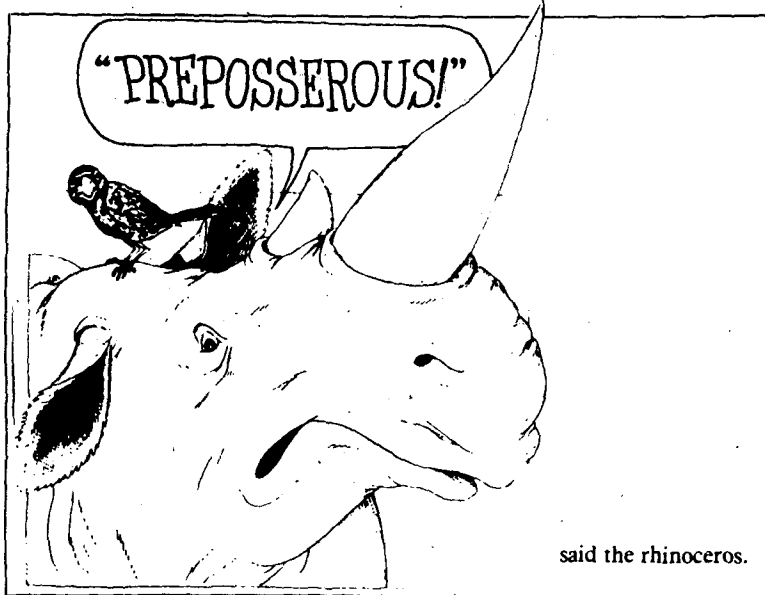
WHO IN THE ZOO

By Wilma Shore, illustrated by Joel Schick
Lippincott, Philadelphia & N.Y., 1976

"Not so very long ago/ a little boy whose name was Joe/ asked the animals in the zoo/ 'Can I stay here, too?'"

As you can imagine, a boy wanting to stay in the zoo was simply "preposserous" to the rhinoceros, and totally "irrelevant" to the elephant! The little boy has a very particular reason for wanting to be in the zoo (and that some of us may even identify with), but you will have to read the book to find out the whys and howcomes.

Wilma Shore's rhymes and jingles give eloquent voice to all sorts of animals—an okapi, a lemur, an ocelot, a coot, a rhea, a cassowary, and a wapiti. The animals, incidentally, seem to have fewer complaints than you would expect. But then Shore gets her information from Central Park



said the rhinoceros.

Zoo in New York, and the animals there may have a better union than most.

Joel Schick's illustrations are delicious. *Who in the Zoo* will delight kids from 8 to 80, etymologists of all ages, and

people who like to tickle their tongues.

—Karen Morrill

Karen Morrill is a teacher in an alternative school in Chicago and tries out the books she reviews on her pupils.

Clear material on sex education

THE RAND McNALLY ATLAS OF THE
BODY AND MIND
Chicago, 1976, \$30

One of the most beautifully and intelligently illustrated reference works ever published in this country, the *Rand McNally Atlas of the Body and Mind* ought to be available to everyone who is growing up and asking questions, as well as to parents who are going to have to answer them.

The chief editor, Claire Rayner, is a novelist as well as a medical journalist and is responsible for the really first-rate chapters on reproduction and the span of human life. The latter covers—from the physical, social, and psychological aspects—every stage through which an individual passes, from infancy to old age. The former has the best and

clearest sex education material we have ever seen.

Other sections deal with anatomy and the energy sources for the "marvelous machine"; its control systems—conscious and unconscious; the senses; the brain; the intellect; the defenses of the body; and finally the future, which is subdivided into "the spare-part man," maintenance and repair; continuing evolution, and genetic engineering.

The credentials of the contributing editors and consultants are impressive. The lay-out is spectacular—sometimes overwhelming. The color reproduction is dazzling. All in all, it is a bargain even at \$30, a good investment for any library—public or private.

—Janet Stevenson

Gigantic *In These Times* subscription contest!

Sell those winning subscriptions—
in the office...at the factory...on
public transportation...at church
socials...during Sunday dinner
...at cocktail parties

Here's what you get:

1. The first person to sell 50 subscriptions to *In These Times* wins a Sony 15 inch color television or equivalent.
2. The person who sells the most subscriptions above 50 wins a Sony 19 inch color television or equivalent.
3. Nobody wins two color televisions. If the person who first reaches 50 also sells the most subscriptions, the 15 inch television will go to the second highest score.
4. The first person to sell 30 subscriptions to *In These Times* wins a Sony compact stereo system or equivalent.
5. Everyone who sells 30 subscriptions wins a Texas Instruments calculator or equivalent.
6. Everyone who sells 15 subscriptions wins an *In These Times* t-shirt.

Here's how it works:

1. Fill in the blank below and mail it to us.
2. We'll send you 50 official contest blanks.
3. Once your score reaches 40, we'll send you 50 more blanks.
4. The contest ends March 31st. We won't count any contest blanks postmarked later than midnight, March 31, 1977.
5. Only fully-paid, \$15 subscriptions on official contest blanks will be counted.
6. In the unlikely event of a tie for either of the color televisions, the earliest postmark on the final entry blank will win.
7. Everyone is eligible to play except people whose names appear in the *In These Times* staff box and their families.
8. Void where prohibited.

name	_____
street	_____
city/state/zip	_____
telephone	_____

Remember, only entries on official contest blanks will be counted.

Do union workers gain at others' expense?

Evidence shows that as union workers' wages rise, non-union wages also rise.

In a letter to the editor (*ITT*, Dec. 6), a union carpenter, Ed Kweskin, objected to certain points in David Moberg's "Labor Movement—Stuck but Stirring" (*ITT*, Nov. 29). Kweskin took issue with "new left" economist Barry Bluestone's view that trade unions bear responsibility for inflation and hence lower real income of non-union workers. This may not be the first time that a carpenter is closer to the truth than vested experts.

Moberg quoted Bluestone as saying "the higher wage paid in union firms may be taken out of the pockets of workers in low-wage industries through higher prices," and that union members' "higher standard of living" comes at the expense of non-union workers. Bluestone concludes that unions tend to divide the working class against itself, between higher and lower paid workers.

This view seems logical, but logic may not correspond with historical reality. And the logic itself may be faulty if the premises are defective or if middle terms are left out of account.

To show that union wages are a major cause of lower real income among non-union workers, one would have to establish the actual relationship between the two. That middle term, however, cannot be taken for granted.

It would have to be shown that during the corporate industrial era, the poor were relatively fewer and less impoverished *before* trade unionism became a major force in wage determination among workers—before World War II. The historical figures do not show that. Using the conservative official criteria for determining poverty, a similar or lower percentage of people had incomes below the poverty line in the union era since World War II than before it.

The official poverty line of about \$4,200 for a family of four is absurdly low, as its equivalent has been in the past.

But using a more realistic dividing line would show a similar or lower percentage of people below the line in comparison with pre-union days.

Furthermore, it is only since the rise of mass industrial unions in the 1930s and 1940s, and their concerted political action, that social security, unemployment compensation, minimum wage, food stamps, medicaid, and other such programs, meager as they are, have been legislated. They provide supplemental in-

come to non-union and union workers alike, which was not available to any workers in the pre-union era. Remember, too, that the minimum wage historically follows upward with union wage gains, and that affects the level of payments in the other programs as well.

Finally, to establish his conclusion, Bluestone would have to show that income *differentials* among workers are greater since large-scale unionization, and that these differentials are due to the impact of union wages.

Bluestone may have the figures to show these correlations, but other available data tend to deny them. Dividing the American people into income-tenths, and examining the percentage of national income each of the lowest six tenths (which include most of the higher and lower income working class) have claimed over time reveals a decline in differentials since 1941 (see accompanying Table).

The Table covers the age of corporate (monopoly) capitalism, from its emergence to its maturity. The time period is divided between the pre-union era (1910-1941) and the union era (1948-1969).

The sharpest drop in the income share of the poorest tenth occurred in the pre-union era, 1910-1941. The same is true for the poorest second and third tenths. In the union era, starting after 1941, the

	Lowest tenth (a)	Lowest 1st & 2nd (b)	Lowest 1st 2nd & 3d (c)	Lowest 4th 5th & 6th (d)	Ratio of (d) to (b)	Ratio of (d) to (c)
Pre-Union Era						
1910	3.4	8.3	13.8	21.0	2.5	1.5
1929	1.8	5.4	10.0	19.9	3.7	2.0
1941	1.0	3.0	7.0	21.0	7.0	3.0
Union Era						
1948	1.4	4.7	9.7	22.6	4.8	2.3
1956	1.3	3.7	8.2	22.7	6.1	2.8
1959	1.1	4.0	8.6	23.3	5.8	2.7
1960		4.9		17.6*	3.6	
1964		5.2		17.7*	3.4	
1969		5.6		17.6*	3.1	

*Lowest 5th and 6th only.

Source: Adapted from Gabriel Kolko, *Wealth and Power in America* (1962, p. 14), and T.R. Dye and L.H. Zeigler, *The Irony of Democracy* (1970, p. 108), drawing upon Kolko and studies of the National Industrial Conference Board, Survey Research Center, and Federal Reserve Board. The figures for 1960, 1964, and 1969: Frank Ackerman et al., "Income Distribution in the United States," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, Summer 1971, pp. 207-18.

share of the fourth, fifth, and sixth tenths to that of the poorest three tenths rises most steeply in the pre-union era of corporate capitalism, then levels off and declines in the union era. From 1959 to 1969 the ratio of the aggregate share of the fifth and sixth tenths to that of the poorest first and second tenths declines steadily. With the rise and systemization of large corporate pricing power, income dif-

ferentials between higher and lower paid workers increased during the pre-union era and declined during the union era.

The people in the poorest two tenths in the 1950s and 1960s included those coming from the farms to cities with inadequate educational facilities and scarce high-cost housing and at a time of declining low-skill jobs. The decline in their income shares from 1948 to 1959 cannot, therefore, simply be laid to the impact of union wages on prices. Displacement and unemployment are the more important factors. And in any case, that decline was reversed in the 1960s.

Since 1970, non-labor costs have played the decisive role in the inflationary price spiral—fuel, petro-chemicals, medical

care, interest rates, rent, taxes, insurance and land. Indeed, so little have wages, union or otherwise, figured in the inflation of the 1970s that for some time we have been without a conservative philippic about the "wage-push" theory of rising prices. For conservatives to draw attention to that argument now would only aggravate their credibility gap and impair the argument's usefulness in the future. During the current round of inflation that traditional business line is heard mostly from certain "new left" economists. It is new for avowed leftists to take such a position, but it is a position not much to the left of Milton Friedman.

Historical trends such as those indicated here would have to be carefully studied and digested before an economist could make a firm statement about a negative impact of union-workers' wages on the real income of the poor. But many other considerations, involving both the historical record and ways of reasoning, also need to be taken into account in drawing sound conclusions.

In any case, those who argue that unions divide the working class in getting "too much" for their members at the expense of the poor, place themselves in an awkward position if they then turn around and advocate rank-and-file union movements against "sweetheart" union leaders who get too little. That view would make I.W. Abel a working-class hero and Ed Sadlowski a traitor to the poor.

DIALOG

A new party enters the scene

Editor:

In view of your publication's dismissal of the "bankrupt minority parties" (*ITT*, Jan 5) in the recent national election campaign we believe you may be interested in the following evidence that there is something fermenting in the intestinal track of the American body politic.

The material quoted is from the Official Voters Pamphlet of the State of Washington and contains the statements of two of the candidates running for office under the aegis of the new Owl party. Other Owls were slated for Lieutenant Governor, State Treasurer, Secretary of State, State Auditor, and Insurance Commissioner.

—A Reader

Red Kelly, Owl
Governor, State of Washington

The importance of this election to the citizens of our fair state cannot be underestimated. I have found, however, that the issues are not the issue for once an issue is made of the issues and the issues are responded to, they no longer are issues but become answers.

Because of the above mentioned dialectical problem I am responding to some of the more pressing non-issues facing this state....

1) It has become apparent that unemployment isn't working, but—

2) Inflation is. I feel we have done a good job of getting inflation off of dead center and back on the move again.

3) Because of the energy crisis and potential oil spill non-issues, we have been asked to think tanker. What I propose is the importation of Irish tinkers to fix leaking tankers. In this way, instead of thinking tankers we can thank tinkers thereby solving two problems with the single stroke of a ball-peen hammer. a) we reduce oil spills, b) we help wind down the war in Ireland. It is imperative that the other candidates grasp the bull by the tail and face the situation squarely on the issue.

Governor
State of Washington



Red Kelly
OWL

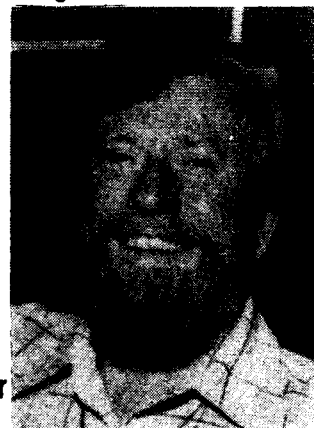
Don 'Earthquake' Ober, Owl
Commissioner of Public Lands, State of Washington

When we cut down our trees we create jobs and all know and recognize the most economical and efficient method of removing trees is what was once caustically and erroneously called the 'slash' cut method, is now called the 'clear' cut method and next year will be termed the 'clean' cut method of logging. Aside from being economical, this method gives us those aesthetically pleasing open spaces we so sorely need.

Of course those trees will always grow back. Witness, for example, the cedars

of Lebanon. As the Bible so eloquently states, "If your tree offends you pluck it out and make it into a number two peeler." This policy also sets the stage for another great literary classic which will be entitled "A Tree Grew in Washington."

Commissioner of Public Lands
State of Washington



Don 'Earthquake' Ober
OWL

IN THESE TIMES OPINION

Salvador Luria

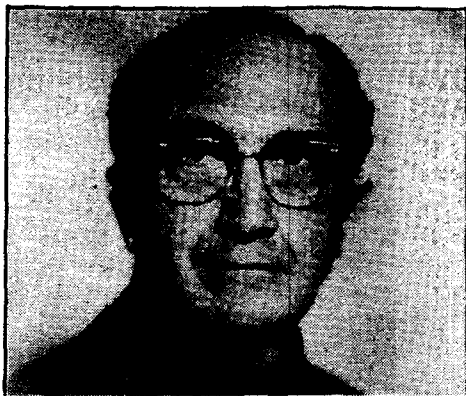
Cigarettes: health hazards can't compete with big business

Americans consume over 500 billion cigarettes a year. According to the best available statistics, cigarette smoking is responsible for about 80,000 lung cancer deaths each year in the U.S. Because the consumption of cigarettes has been on the increase for many years, and because it usually takes many years before the effects of cigarette smoking manifest themselves, we can expect a much higher incidence of cigarette-induced lung cancer in years to come. The increase is likely to be especially high among women since heavy smoking has started among women only 50 years ago and the rate of increase is now much higher for women than for men.

Lung cancer, of course, is only one of the disorders through which cigarette smoking causes death. Heart attacks and emphysema (chronic stretching of the lungs) are other major consequences of smoking, although it is not easy yet to evaluate the annual mortality from these as precisely as for lung cancer.

Cigarette smoking has interesting and far-reaching aspects, not only medical but also socio-political.

From the medical point of view, the remarkable feature is that the frequency



of lung cancers in smokers is directly proportional to the number of cigarettes smoked over one's lifetime. This statistical finding means, to put it in simple terms, that there is no minimum safe number of cigarettes. If you smoke ten times less than the next person, you have ten times less chance to get a smoke-induced lung cancer; but your chance is not zero.

The other medical feature, not yet fully understood, is that for a given number of cigarettes smoked, the chance of getting lung cancer increases quite rapidly with age. The interpretation given, provisionally, by cancer experts is that the actual

development and growth of lung cancer in smokers depends also on several other contributing factors whose occurrences increase with age. The nature of those factors is still a matter of guess. For example, one of the factors might be a decreasing ability of the body to destroy cancer cells when they first arise. Much research is aimed at trying to define the nature of the contributing factors. If one could control these factors one might save some of those millions of smokers who will otherwise come down with lung cancer in years to come.

One may wonder why people voluntarily expose themselves to a habit that is a cause of several dread diseases. One reason, apart from the pleasure of smoking (a pleasure that a non-smoker like myself does not appreciate) is a mixture of ignorance and of gambling optimism. Ignorance blinds people to the significance of the statement that the average smoker has a 5 percent chance of dying of lung cancer. The gambling spirit makes people think: Why should I be the unlucky one?

And here we come to the socio-political angle. There are powerful forces in society that swamp the voice of reason.

The cigarette business is a huge industry: 500 billion cigarettes a year means over \$10 billion sales. The tobacco lobby is one of the most powerful in Washington. Congress, under pressure from environmentalist and cancer-prevention groups, was forced some years ago to pass a minimal warning regulation: each pack of cigarettes must state that "The Surgeon General has determined that cigarette smoking is dangerous to your health." But effective government actions, those that count, do not discourage the use of cigarettes but help the tobacco industry in pushing and selling its wares. Tobacco brings to its growers some of the largest subsidies of all farm crops. Instead of encouraging a shift to

more useful crops, the U.S. government uses our tax money to subsidize the tobacco producers, whose only concern is to push their product on the public.

And how they push it! Even though precise figures are not available, it is estimated that the advertising bill for cigarettes is about \$300 million a year! And a good deal of this publicity is paid for by you and me in the form of tax deductions by the advertisers—for example, publicity for export purposes. Any industry that controls advertising accounts of such magnitude has a mighty hold on newspapers and magazines, especially the smaller and less independent ones. Cigarette manufacturers can readily cancel their accounts with newspapers that dare editorialize against cigarette smoking.

One cannot, of course, blame only the cigarette manufacturer for the appeal of cigarette smoking. It is apparent that cigarette smoking (a habit that is only 100 years old) has fulfilled a psychological need independent of advertising and "pushing." Cigarette smoking has not decreased in countries with socialist governments and may actually have increased, due to the improved standard of living.

Once the relation between cigarettes, lung cancer and other diseases is known, of course, the question of smoking becomes overtly political. Cigarette ads become devices to trick people into risking their lives. Government non-regulation becomes an open admission that tax revenues matter more than health.

More knowledge about smoking also raises socialist questions. Does the state have the right to outlaw cigarettes? Do people who contract smoking-related diseases have the right to receive public health services?

Salvador Luria is a Nobel laureate in bio-chemistry and a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His column appears regularly.

Letters

Any clever Arab propagandist could have done it

Editor:

I am extremely excited and pleased by the three issues of *In These Times* I have bought on newsstands here (what a welcome new publication! And a great name!), and was about to send for one or several subscriptions when I read Simon Rosenblum's column in issue #3 (*ITT*, Nov. 29, 1976). Would you expect a black person or a woman to subscribe to an exciting new magazine and simply "overlook" an occasional racist or sexist article? That's how I felt about finding this hopelessly naive and insidiously (perhaps unconsciously) anti-Jewish piece in your magazine.

The version of history that Rosenblum presents is unbelievably one-sided and twisted, as is his vision of the future. Does he suppose that none of the violence, none of the mistakes, none of the racism in Palestine of the 1920s-40s was committed by Arabs, only by Jews? Is he aware that the Palestinian Jews accepted the 1948 United Nations partition, giving them a tiny fraction of the Mandate territory, but were denied even this minimal compromise by the all-out attack of the Arab nations? The history of the area in the first half of this century was surely regrettable: it's too bad Jewish leaders insisted on dealing with Turks and Britons and Arab chieftans in order to get the swampy land they needed for national return and independence; it's unfortunate that the Buber/Magnes binational solution was never practical and never acceptable to either side. What happened was almost by accident, and certainly tragic (Remember, there was virtually no awareness of Palestinian Arabs as a distinct national group until long after Jewish settlement—autonomous, agricultural, and non-exploitative—had been established). But to

blame that failure of cooperation on the "Zionist establishment" is outrageous and distorted.

Now, Rosenblum tells us, the sole barrier to a peaceful two-state solution is "Israeli intransigence." No mention of the PLO's publicly avowed intention to accept a state as an "interim step" to taking over all of Palestine, i.e., destroying Israel. Certainly the Israeli public and government seem too often uncompromising and overcautious; but who, after all, planted the bombs and murdered the school children to make them that way? Whom can they trust, ultimately, to protect their absolutely valid right to self-determination and freedom, rather than bargaining it away in *realpolitik*?

As for the editors, I am disappointed that a publication that seemed to offer such a creative, non-doctrinaire approach could print an article written almost by formula, full of such trite, outworn ideas. Any clever and slightly dishonest Arab propagandist could have written it. (And I suspect it could only be published, given the ominous implications behind it, if written by a Jew.

Jonathan Wolf
New York City

Editor's note: In These Times has no established position on solutions to the Israel-Palestinian question. Columns in the opinion section represent the views of the columnists, although within limits that we establish. We welcome opposing views on all questions, and especially on one like this where the controversy among socialists of different nationalities is so fierce.

The feeling of being used

Editor:

Through its first five issues, *In These Times* has been a newspaper that attempts to report the news factually and not to distort it to fit anyone's ideological leanings. Having survived the *Rat*, the *Liberated Guardian*, et. al., this has been a sublime relief.

Issue six (*ITT*, Dec. 20, 1976) brought me down to earth. Margit Birge, in her

article "Mexican Agrarian Conflict," wrote with the disrespect for reality associated with those more heady times. The Movement was gravely damaged by the unrealistic, politically motivated cries of 'revolution now!' There were other factors, certainly, but this euphoric brush with a revolution that was not to be, this feeling of being used, helped send many an activist back to his or her career.

Specifically: "Land invasions are continuing everywhere;" "Not even God will stop our fight." Nonsense. Mexico is not in or even near a revolutionary situation. Why present a false picture? Who does it help? Certainly not the Mexican people.

Sheldon Wallman
New York City

SP differs on presidential elections

Editor:

You're absolutely right in your editorial criticism of third party presidential races (*ITT*, Jan. 5). I find your method of first shaking your finger at DSOC (*ITT*, Dec. 22, 1976) and then at the CP, SP, SWP, SLP, and PP simply brilliant.

I must, however, take exception with your conclusions. There is really no point in doctrinal, organizational, and sectarian rivalries, and those who engage in such activity do more to harm the building of a socialist movement in this country than anything else. But how is that socialist movement to be built?

The Socialist Party has elected city councilors in Indiana and Wisconsin, and it is there, on the local level, that we see the real battle for social change. We do not see, however, as you do, the presidential campaigns as a "painful waste." The exceptionally low vote for left parties in 1976 is less a comment on the independent political activity and more a statement on the situation the American left finds itself in today.

All the people who put together *In These Times* should be given great honors for bringing the day when there is a viable socialist movement in the U.S. closer to reality, but publishing a paper is not enough (as beautiful as it is).

Running a presidential candidate is far from enough, but it is one way to reach many people with the vision of what our society could be if people had democratic control over their own destinies.

Lee Webster
National Secretary, Socialist Party

You call this a socialist?

Editor:

The review by Chris C. Mojekwu (*ITT*, Nov. 22, 1976) of John Hatch's *Two African Statesmen*, came as a surprise. Neither in my stay in Africa nor in my current stay in Europe have I ever seen a newspaper report characterizing Kaunda of Zambia as a socialist. His activities in precisely the areas mentioned by Mojekwu have been anything but anti-capitalist. He has jailed Rhodesian leaders and guerillas, has invited Western capital into his country to take advantage of cheap Zambian labor, and I don't believe Kaunda has such a track record for liberation in Southern Africa...

To review a book like Hatch's seems appropriate in order to expose the misrepresentation of Kaunda, not to reinforce it. (As for Nyerere, I would recommend *The Silent Class Struggle* at least as a corrective to the general impression of Nyerere given in the article.)

Kaunda aside—congratulations for getting the paper going.

—Barbara Stuckey
Starnbeg, West Germany

Swept off her feet

Editor:

Issue No. 6 *ITT*, Dec. 20) has swept me off my feet; especially the editorial and the news in the articles on Hartford, Conn.'s, imaginative new tactics in rescuing the cities, and the farmers' organizing. The paper isn't just an informal warming up of old news. Here's my subscription and announcement of my enthusiastic intention to get others to subscribe.

—Frances W. Herring
Kensington, Calif.

Staughton Lynd

Effect of Steelworkers' no-strike pledge disputed by new findings

The major issue in the contest between Ed Sadlowski and Lloyd McBride for the presidency of the Steelworkers union is whether to continue the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) negotiated between the union and the companies in 1973.

Under ENA, the union gives up its right to strike at the end of the three-year Basic Steel Contract. Unresolved contract issues are submitted to binding arbitration.

ENA is part of the present Basic Steel Contract which expires Aug. 1, 1977. If an ENA clause is made part of the next Basic Steel Contract, the union will have given up its right to strike at the end of that three-year contract, in 1980.

The basic reason for ENA given by both the union and the companies is that, in its absence, American steel users import foreign steel at the end of each three-year contract when there is uncertainty about strike action.

Rank-and-file opponents of ENA sought to have it declared illegal when it was first enacted in 1973. They lost. Recent developments strengthen the likelihood a Sadlowski victory will bring the end of ENA.

On Dec. 16, J. Bruce Johnston, vice president of Labor Relations of United States Steel Corporation, speaking at a meeting of the Pittsburgh Personnel Association, stated that neither Lloyd McBride nor Ed Sadlowski "seems able or willing" to understand the real purpose of ENA. Johnston also said that "Imports still translate into 90,000 lost steelworker jobs and 15 million tons of lost

sales each year—and they threaten to get worse."

More than a month before Johnston's speech the *Labor Law Journal* called attention to "recent empirical findings that steel imports since 1959 have had little real impact on jobs in the basic steel industry." The article continued: "If the union begins to accept this research as correct, its interest in cooperating in programs such as ENA and the recent effort to influence the federal government to restrict imports on foreign steel may decline."

Meantime, two recent court decisions indicate that if ENA is even in court again, it may not fare as well as it did before.

Judge George Edwards of the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, a former United Automobile Workers official, handed down a decision in the case where rank-and-file teamsters have challenged a contract "rider" on which they were unable to vote. The plaintiffs are "over-the-road" drivers who live in Michigan and are employed by various Michigan trucking companies. They claim that defendant International Brotherhood of Teamsters submitted to ratification as required by the union constitution the National Master Freight Agreement and the Central States Agreement, but did not submit to ratification the Michigan Rider. Speaking through Judge Edwards, the Court cited Section 101(a)(1) of the Landrum-Griffin Act which states in part:

Equal rights: Every member of a labor organization shall have equal rights and privileges within such organization to nominate candidates, to vote in elections

or referendums of the labor organization...

The Court then held: "We believe the word 'referendum' is sufficiently broad to guarantee to all union members a right to vote on a union contract which any of them enjoy." The Court did not decide that the union had violated Landrum-Griffin. But it held that a trial might show that it had, and so refused to dismiss the case.

Another decision by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals relates to the question: If the union at a future negotiating session refused to include ENA in the next Basic Steel Contract, could the company say that this was an unresolved issue and submit this to binding arbitration under the ENA? The Court confronted a similar question involving a contract between a printers' union in Columbus, Ga., and a newspaper. A clause in the contract provided for resolution of disputes over new contract terms by arbitration. The union, in that case, wanted the clause contained in the next contract. The company did not. The union then claimed that the company was refusing to bargain as required by Section 8(a)(5) of the National Labor Relations Act. The company responded that a clause providing for arbitration of disputes over new contract terms was not a mandatory subject of bargaining. A majority of the NLRB agreed with the company. The Fifth Circuit affirmed the decision of the NLRB. The Court explained its holding in these words:

"There are several important reasons why a new contract arbitration clause should not be enforceable to perpetuate inclusion of the clause in successive bar-

gaining agreements. The contract arbitration system could be self-perpetuating; a party, having once agreed to the provision, may find itself locked into that procedure for as long as the bargaining relationship endures.... Parties may justly fear that the tendency of arbitrators would be to continue including the clause.... Courts cannot bind the parties in perpetuity to forego the use of economic weapons in support of bargaining positions."

In an important footnote, the opinion adds that compulsory arbitration was rejected by Congress when it passed both the Wagner and Taft-Hartley Acts. The Court points out that the effect of making arbitration of unresolved contract disputes perpetual would be to enact compulsory arbitration: "Compulsory arbitration would deprive parties of their right to use economic weapons in the same way that successive contract arbitration provisions would."

The *Columbus Pressmen* case means that at any negotiating session where the Steelworkers union takes the position that it will not continue ENA, there is nothing the company can do about it. ENA does not apply to the question of whether ENA will continue.

The *Trail* case means that if the Steelworkers union changes its constitution to require membership ratification of the Basic Steel Contract, the courts are likely to take the position that ENA too must be submitted to membership ratification.

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Ed Greer

Blacks are now primary victims of urban decay and federal apathy

The only feasible method of obtaining racial equality in the U.S. is to reconstruct and rebuild the nation's central cities. To achieve this goal, a coalition of all the popular and progressive forces in the U.S. will have to be mobilized politically.

The disintegration of the delivery of "public goods" such as education, mass transit, and public health care in the cities means that the main mechanism for redistribution to the poor is thwarted and that the real standard of living of city dwellers falls. Along with unemployment and on-the-job discrimination, urban decay is the main way that blacks and other national minorities are relegated to second-class citizenship.

Acquiescence in the "urban crisis" is a direct attack upon blacks. All domestic policies that accept as "inevitable" on-going urban disinvestment (such as redlining, commercial relocation to suburbs, factory flight to the Sunbelt or abroad), that argue that massive government social welfare programs for the cities are unworkable, or that assert that a "post-industrial society" no longer has a need for cities, are racist in effect.

To understand this it is essential to understand the demographic shifts of the past half century.

In the early part of the 20th century almost all American blacks lived in the rural South. The course of modern industrialization—especially after the Immigration Act of 1924—resulted in the massive urbanization of black people, who are now the most heavily urbanized

group in the country. In 1970, while only 25 percent of whites resided in central cities, 60 percent of blacks did.

Despite much media attention to black suburbanization, the concentration of blacks in the cities is still increasing. Neither economic nor political forces of the magnitude necessary to disperse blacks into the suburbs have appeared—even on the distant horizon.

The pattern of black urban concentration follows a pattern that has existed since the beginnings of capitalist development. As Frederick Engels pointed out in 1845 in his monograph, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, "The rapid extension of English industry could not have taken place if England had not possessed in the numerous and impoverished population of Ireland a reserve in command.... It has been calculated that...nearly all [the Irish migrants] enter the industrial districts, especially the great cities, and there form the lowest class of the population."

A similar pattern is evident today throughout western Europe, where migrant workers are employed in the lower strata of industrial occupations and are disproportionately concentrated in the larger urban centers. While 20 percent of the French live in metropolitan Paris, 33 percent of that nation's immigrants do.

The full extent of black central city concentration is often not fully realized. My own calculations, based on the 1970 Census, show a striking pattern: the larger the city, the bigger the percentage of black

inhabitants. The following table summarizes my findings:

Size of City	% Black
over 500,000	26.0
250,000 - 500,000	19.6
100,000 - 250,000	14.5
50,000 - 100,000	7.8
rest of country	6

Two consequences flow from this relationship: one technical in terms of public policy; the other broadly political.

To maximize the racially progressive impact of federal aid to the cities, legislation should be drafted so as to set the cut-off point for qualification at 100,000 population. Such a standard—which is well within Congressional discretion—would result in a group of 156 cities with a total population of 57 million of whom almost a quarter will be black, including the majority of all the black people in the U.S. Aid distributed in such a fashion would redistribute funds from whites to blacks.

And permitting cities of a smaller size to qualify for urban aid will dilute or even reverse its racially progressive impact. Since there is no correlation between the size of a city and the proportion of the work force employed in manufacturing, the cut-off point—regardless of where it is set—does not result in taking from white workers to give to black workers. Rather it takes from all whites (including white capitalists) and gives to all blacks. Of course, even if it did redistribute income from white workers to black workers it would still be a socially

just policy as compensation for arbitrary racist discrimination in employment.

All political efforts should be bent to shaping new federal urban programs and the administrative guidelines of existing ones to comport with this relationship.

To win such a priority—and the vast funding necessary to reconstruct our metropolises to the standard our civilization's productivity permits—a coherent political program and mass mobilization on its behalf is required. In such a mass democratic reform fight, the black people's movement and its elected representatives can provide a solid base. Demographic developments indicate that within the next decade the mayors of the majority of the 10 largest cities will be black. And this will be a tremendous accretion to the potential political forces available to realign American politics. Along with the trade union movement and middle class allies, a bloc of big city organizations will constitute a formidable set of popular institutions.

Creating this kind of political alliance through a mass struggle to force the Carter administration to rebuild the cities is now on the order of the day.

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Editorial

With the people, not the president

Last week, Jack Clark of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee complained that our editorial "Retrieve the legislative branch" (ITT, Dec. 20, 1976) had been unfair, because we had allegedly dismissed the DSOC "as an organization interested *only* in presidential politics." Clark saw our comments as "unkind."

We had no intention to be unkind. Open criticism of other socialists, so long as it does not distort their views, is an act of friendship in our eyes. We favor the public exchange of differences among socialists, so that people can know what we think and can participate in considering, debating and shaping a socialist politics for this country. We criticized the DSOC because we see them as serious people actively engaged in the difficult task of developing a socialist direction in American politics.

Clark's letter explaining more fully the DSOC position did not prove unkindness on our part, but confirmed the accuracy of our statement that the DSOC *concentrates* its efforts on presidential politics. He notes that given "scarce financial and staff resources," DSOC had "to make hard decisions" about their allocation. That allocation was determined in favor of a major effort in support of the Carter-Mondale ticket, "because we consider the power of the Executive crucial in any attempt to transform this society." Hence, Clark states, DSOC "does—and will continue to—work in Presidential politics."

►Where we disagree.

This is exactly the point upon which we disagree. In this century the presidency has been crucial to corporate power in successfully *preventing* the transformation of this society. Carter's cabinet selections, as well as his policy-oriented statements, all too monotonously confirm and extend that historical record.

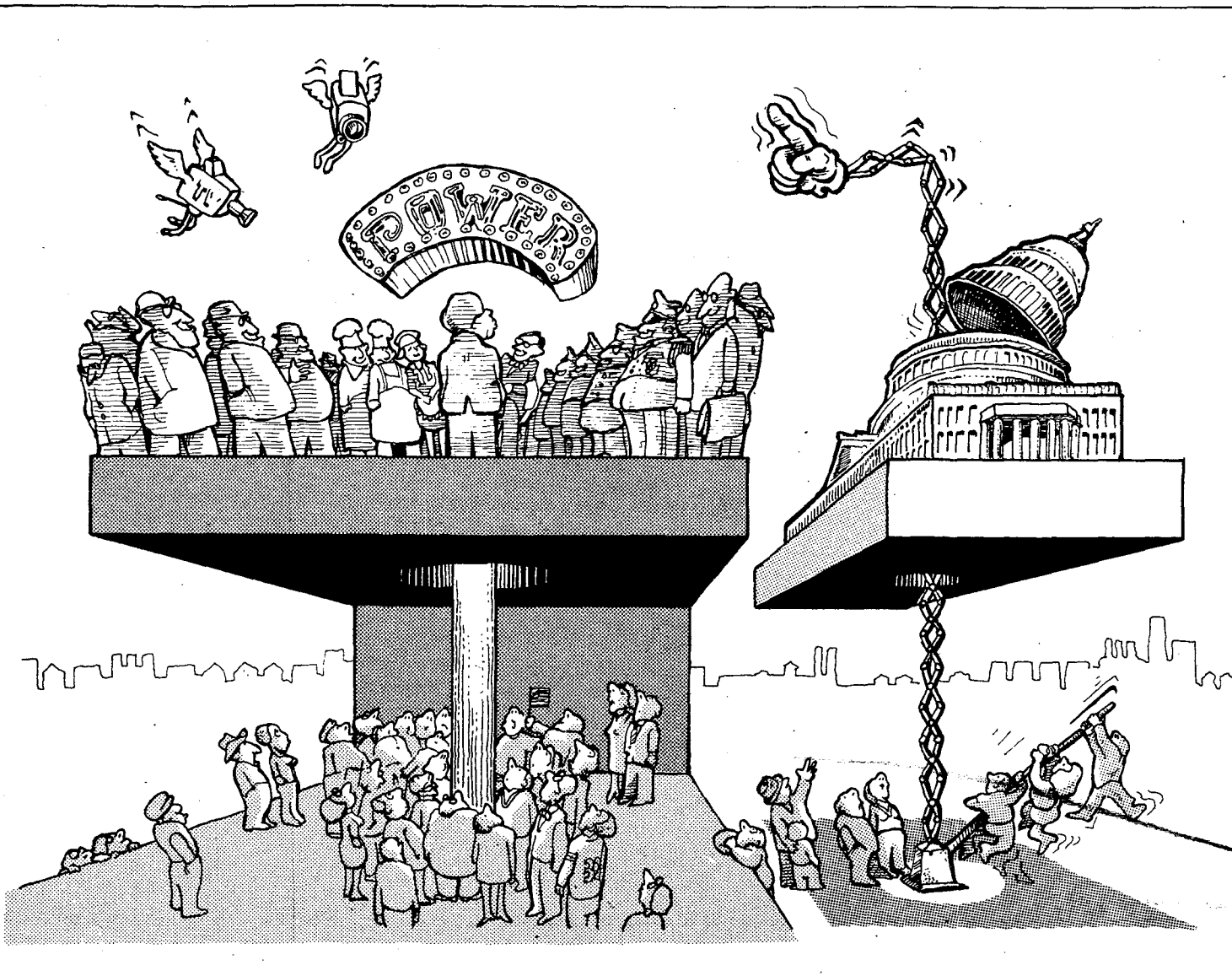
We think DSOC, like socialists in the past who, with lesser or greater expectations, have supported "progressive" presidential candidates, overlooks the distinction between electoral coalitions and policy-making. In the election process, a candidate may say and promise whatever is necessary to broaden the vote-getting net. But once elected, the President must govern in a way that does not disrupt the system of power and property, namely, corporate capitalism.

Socialists should be at least as realistic about this as are conservatives. Harvard political scientist Samuel P. Huntington, for example, reminded Trilateral Commission colleagues that "once he is elected ... the President's electoral coalition has ... served its purpose. The day after his election the size of his majority is almost ... entirely irrelevant to his ability to govern. ... What counts then is his ability to mobilize support from the leaders of the key institutions in society and government ... a broad governing coalition ... [that] must include key people in Congress, the Executive Branch, and the private Establishment. The governing coalition need have little relation to the electoral coalition." (Wall Street Journal, Aug. 1, 1975).

Blacks, women, labor activists, and other second-class citizens who vote but do not govern, have experienced this truth in the past few weeks. Do we socialists see less than others? Or more?

►Carter is no exception.

Most of Carter's key cabinet appointees, like himself, are Trilateral Commission alumni. The Wall Street Journal (Aug. 1, 1975) in lamenting the absence from the Nixon-Ford governing coalition of "the elite of Ivy League lawyers and investment bankers that guided the nation after



World War II," thought it "quite possible to see the Trilateral Commission as the Eastern Establishment starting to pull itself together."

Carter's governing coalition may well be in the corporate-progressive tradition, but it will have little to do with efforts at transforming this society.

On practical grounds, moreover, a President need give little to those without their own electoral constituencies. However well-intentioned, a President cannot give much to, or get much for constituencies without significant power in Congress manifested in votes. What will Carter give to those interested in transforming society (for example, socialists) when they can claim no distinctive voting bloc nor congressional membership?

On these and other grounds we have previously stated, we believe that socialists' scarce resources should concentrate on the legislative branches of government at the local, state, and federal levels. DSOC's activities in these spheres, its "Democracy '76" initiative, and its active participation in the Democratic Party's mid-term convention, are all to the good. They are highly significant contributions to building a socialist presence in the nation's politics and, we think, more significant than all its efforts on behalf of Carter's election.

Sen. George McGovern is an initiator of "Democracy '76." That program calls for democratic planning for full employment, redistribution of wealth and income and democratic control of investment including the establishment of publicly owned enterprise in banking, energy, and transportation. Had McGovern become president without a powerful movement manifested in a left and socialist majority in Congress, he would have had no chance of attaining even this moderate program.

►The President won't do it.

The transformation of this society (not the reform or "improvement" of capitalism) does not lie through the president but through the people; that is, through socialist politics focused at this time upon the legislative branches. We believe this for the following reasons:

- That kind of politics would mean socialists having to organize and debate at the grass roots, in the wards, the precincts, and congressional districts.

- It would mean developing a popular style of socialist propagation and the rise of thousands of elected office-holders from among the people committed to socialism.

- It would mean socialists and countless working people gaining political experience and developing programmatic socialist approaches to all of society's problems and needs.

- And it would mean reaffirming the legislative branch as properly paramount in the policy-making processes of a democracy.

There is a notable irony in the presidential orientation of DSOC's outlook. It is precisely executive dominated socialist states (e.g., the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, China, Cuba) that many belonging to DSOC have objected to on grounds of democratic principle. Yet they are themselves taking the executive road in the U.S. It is no good to claim that we have constitutional safeguards here, for we have seen how fragile these are in the face of a corporate and imperial presidency and a docile Congress.

We favor neither executive-centered corporate power under capitalism, nor an executive-centered socialism. Both are dangerous to the liberty and equality of the people and destructive of democracy.

We are not opposed to socialists ever supporting a presidential candidate, or to running one of their own. When there is a substantial socialist presence in Congress, such an approach may become a

priority. But for too long American socialists have seen each presidential election as (in Clark's words) "a beginning," and with each election we have found ourselves still at the beginning, over and over again, except at a higher stage of social disintegration, a greater concentration of corporate power, and a lower level of organized socialist consciousness among the people.

►An end to new beginnings.

At each presidential election, our strategy recurs in the desperate plea for "minimal breathing space" needed "just to survive," rather than succeeding at creating a pattern of cumulative development of socialist goals, ideas, and programs among the people.

We talk about "injecting" socialism or left-wing ideas into the political mainstream as if we were outsiders in our own society—not "real Americans." We should talk instead, and think, of *participating* as socialists in the mainstream, as representing this society's deepest democratic traditions and aspirations.

We are almost drolly becoming 20th century American versions of the early 19th century Russian Decembrists. They appealed to the Good Czar for reform, and he shot them down. Socialists appeal in November to the "progressive" presidential candidate who in December, after being elected, shoots them down.

We find ourselves practitioners of the politics of protest without coming closer to the politics of initiating policy. We protest; the corporate power, centered in the presidency, disposes. Socialists need to go over to the politics of disposal, and that is possible only with the people, not as supplicants to the president.

Carter may be kind to DSOC members for their support of his candidacy, but so far as a transformation of society is concerned, it is the kindness that kills.